

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM
WILLIAM KURRELMAYER
JOSÉ ROBLES

RAYMOND D. HAVENS
KEMP MALONE
HAZELTON SPENCER

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EDITED BY

H. Carrington Lancaster, Gustav Gruenbaum, W. Kurrelmeyer,
Raymond D. Havens, Kemp Malone, H. Spencer, and J. Robles

ADVISORY EDITORS

D. S. Blondheim, G. Chinard, E. Feise, J. C. French, E. Greenlaw,
R. B. Roulston, L. P. Shanks

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THE DUEL OF KING LOUIS AND GORMONT.

Much has lately been written on the famous fragment called *Gormont et Isebart* and its origins.¹ The well-known theory of Professor Bédier has been vigorously assailed by Professor Lot, who restates the theory of a Scandinavian origin of the poem. The arguments advanced have been mostly historical. I wish to call attention to a strange passage in the poem itself which seems difficult to account for without going back of the eleventh century.

In the duel between King Louis and the chivalrous Gormont—whose rôle certainly looks remarkably like that of a hero and an original protagonist—there occurs an extraordinary use of weapons, unparalleled, as far as I am aware, in the entire body of the *chansons de geste*.

Gormonz li a treis darz lanciés;
Deus le guari, par sa pitié,
qu'il ne l'at mie en charn tochié.
Reis Loois fut mult iriés;
a joste mie nel requiert;
encontre munt dreça l'espié;
si l'at feru par mi le chief
que l'elme agu li at trenchié
et del halberc le chapelier;
gesqu'al braiel le purfendiet,
qu'en pre en chiient les meitiés;
en terre cole li espiés.

Gormont et Isebart, ed. Bayot (Classiques français du moyen âge, 1921), ll. 385-396.

Not much attention has been paid to the endless duels of the

¹ F. Lot, *Romania*, LIII (1927), 325 ff., discusses other articles and his own theories.

French epics. Usually monotonous in the older poems, with an invariable technique, they take on considerable variety as time goes on. But it is always a case of the hero who cuts down his enemy after more or less troublesome preliminaries. The hero is stronger than a man has any right to be, as is best illustrated by the feat of Roland hewing his adversary in two and slaying his horse to boot with one stupendous blow.²

The modern world is happily not trained to deal tremendous blows with sword and lance. We are not good judges of the possibilities of strokes dealt by specialists. Even the feats of Roland, Guillaume and Louis, exaggerated as they are, have interesting historical parallels. The best case is the mighty blow of Godefroy de Bouillon at the gates of Antioch, applauded by numberless eye-witnesses and recorded by many contemporary historians of the first Crusade.³ One might add that whether Godefroy actually cut his Turk in two pieces or not the Middle Ages were quite certain that he had done so.

The fighting in the *chansons de geste* was necessarily realistic. Any imaginable audience of the jongleur understood perfectly how men fought. It would have been unthinkable not to present these innumerable duels essentially as they were taking place daily before the eyes of those who crowded to hear recitals of epic deeds. The poems were offered as serious history. Exaggeration in mere strength was only human and I take no account of comic episodes (Rainoart's feats for example). In form the medieval duels were impeccable. The poems scant such features of warfare as sieges, in their technical details, archery, the use, such as it was, of infantry. This was merely the privilege of the poet, emphasizing the favorite side of battle and representing his hero as able to hit harder than ordinary men. When knights fight in the epics with sword and lance, the audience had to be held by imaginary incidents strictly in accord with what the hearers knew to be the practice of real men at arms. Christian knights had to use the weapons of the day in a possible manner. It was only occasionally, for an extra thrill, for variety and for humorous effect, that the poets allow the comparatively unknown pagans, about whom the wildest

² *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Jenkins (Boston, 1924), 1325-1334.

³ Robert le Moine, *Rec. hist. croisades occid.*, III, bk. iv, gives the most detailed account. Also see Guibert de Nogent, Orderic Vital, etc.

stories were current, to wield strange weapons and perform fantastic feats.⁴

The passage quoted above is an amazing exception to the universal use of arms in the vast body of the chansons de geste. How could a medieval audience accept such a story as this where Louis raises his spear and cleaves Gormont to the waist? Nothing like this is found elsewhere and one suspects that the story is a survival from another age.

No medieval spear of which I have found record or which is suggested by what is left in museums, could possibly have been used as a sort of battle-axe. The Bayeux tapestry gives us pictures of the usual spear of the time, the only one, in fact, which could have been effective against the hauberk, a small head mounted on a stout ash stave.⁵ The knights use them thousands of times in various poems, always in the same way. The Christians thrust with them, the pagans not infrequently throw them, as was done particularly by the Turks. Gormont in our poem uses darts for throwing with deadly effect. In the Bayeux tapestry, the knights poise their rather light spears to throw or hold them for the thrust. Never, as far as I am aware, does a knight strike a blow with his spear as if it were a sword. The unanimity of the record shows that spears were useless except for thrusting. Apparently they soon became too heavy for throwing, as one would expect, and were designed to support a very hard thrust. To get full piercing advantage of the impetus of horse and man, a small head was indispensable. On the other hand, King Louis could only deal his blow with a short, heavy headed spear, of a kind which would have been hopelessly ineffective in a joust, for piercing, aiming or even reaching an adversary. I have never found a hint of any such weapon, called by the name of spear, used by a knight on horseback in either chroniclers or poets. To invent such an incident for the entertainment of seigneurs or even common peasants and

⁴ A. J. Dickman, *Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les Chansons de geste* (Paris, 1926). Examples collected and discussed. See especially the conclusion and the index.

⁵ Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français, s. v. Lance*, has many illustrations of medieval lances; Lavis, *Histoire de France*, II, 2, pp. 96 and 100 has good illustrations from the Bayeux tapestry; Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, III (Paris, 1916), pp. 448, 449, 450, 453, 459, has many similar illustrations from different periods.

monks seems strange. The episode runs counter to the whole immense body of tradition and practice of the age.

There can be no mistake in meaning or text. It is not a question of a simple word. The passage states in detail that Louis made no effort to joust with Gormont, but raised his spear, struck a fearful blow on the top of his enemy's head and clove him through so effectively that the body fell in two parts and the spear "en terre cole." The word spear is masculine and stands in the rhyme.

Reading the passage one thinks at once of the Frankish *framée*.⁶ As everyone remembers, the Franks fought originally on foot and used the *francisque*, the *framée* and a long knife or sword. The *francisque* was not unlike a tomahawk, used for throwing and for close work. The *framée* was a shorter spear than the one used by the later knights, rather heavy perhaps, but a spear none the less, as the reproductions referred to show conclusively. The Franks were particularly well supplied with striking weapons. Naturally enough they possessed also a thrusting one. I have not found anywhere a hint that the *framée* could be used for striking in the manner of a sword. To be sure the sources are scanty. If such a case could be found, however, it would be very interesting. It would then be difficult to escape the conclusion that the meeting of Louis and Gormont echoes the original duel of the battle of Saucourt. But for lack of evidence to support it let us discard this possibility of the *framée*.

A few lines further on there occurs in the poem another striking passage, this time in a metaphorical sense, also unexampled in the epics and admittedly historical. Louis pulls back after his blow so vigorously, in order to avoid an undignified tumble, that he sustains a fatal rupture. I mention this wellknown and historical passage merely because in close conjunction with it, the strange spear episode becomes doubly significant.

If the Scandinavians had a hewing spear of a sort that the text so plainly calls for, would not this fact have great significance in a poem which concerns them and which Professor Lot believes to have very likely a Scandinavian origin?

A weapon commonly used for thrusting and cutting, sometimes for thrusting, cutting and throwing as well is often mentioned in

⁶ See Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, II, 1, p. 96, the original weapons of Chilperic, also pages 282, 294 and Enlat, *ubi supra*.

the sagas and scaldic poetry.⁷ It is regularly classed as a spear (*spjót*) and the general term applied to it is *hogg-spjót*. The very name implies a twofold function. Specialized forms are *kesja*, *atgeirr* (familiar to Old French) *brynþvari* and *hepti-sax*. Once also we find a spear of the sort termed *bryntroll*, possibly through confusion with *brynþvari*.⁸ Commonest is the *hoggspjót*, defined by Vigfusson⁹ as a "kind of halberd," by Falk as "die zweite Hauptart der Speere . . . das sowohl zum Stecken wie zum Hauen gebraucht wurde und in erstere Verwendung theils Hand- theils Wurfspeer war."¹⁰

Characteristic illustrative passages follow: *Gísla Saga Súrssonar*, written down in the twelfth century, but presenting historical material from the tenth, chapter 2; "Gísli hewed at him with his spear (*með hoggspjót*) and cut off the lower end of his shield and his foot as well"¹¹; *Víga-Glúms Saga*, an early saga dealing with events of ca. 1000, chapter 8; "Then he (Glúmr) turns quickly against Sigmund and brandished his spear (*spjótinu*) and he (Sigmundr) jumps to meet him; but Glúmr straightway hews him in the head,"¹² and later in the same saga, chapter 22, it is said of Glúmr that he "had his shield and spear (*hoggspjót*) . . ." and that he "hurled his spear at Arngrimr." Falk thinks that this is the same spear as the one mentioned in chapter 8.¹³

Vápnfirðinga Saga, relating events of the tenth century, chapter 2; (Svartr) thrusts at him with a great spear (*hoggspjóti miklu*)."¹⁴

Ólafs Saga hins Helga, describing the early 11th century outlaw

⁷ Professor Henning Larsen has been kind enough to answer the question raised concerning a Scandinavian weapon which would fit the case of Gormont.

⁸ Hj. Falk, *Altnordische Waffenkunde*, Vidensk. Selsk. Skr. (Kristiania, 1914), pp. 66 ff.

⁹ *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, p. 309.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ *Gísla Saga Súrssonar*, búið hefir til Prentunar V. Ásmundarson, Reykjavík, 1899, p. 6.

¹² *Víga-Glúms Saga*, búið hefir til Prentunar V. Ásmundarson. Reykjavík, 1897, p. 24.

¹³ Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁴ *Vápnfirðinga Saga*, búið hefir til Prentunar V. Ásmundarson, Reykjavík, 1898, p. 3.

Arnljot Gelline, chapter 205, says; "Arnljot had in his hand a great spear (*hoggspjót*); its socket was all inlaid with gold, but its shaft was so high (i. e. not longer than) that one could reach the socket with his hand."¹⁵

The commonest form of the *hoggspjót* is the *kesja*; it is used for cutting, thrusting and throwing. When intended for cutting or thrusting it was much heavier than when planned as a missile. The term was common from the early poetry to the hunting terminology of early modern times. According to Alex. Bugge,¹⁶ the word and possibly the weapon represent a borrowing from the Irish *ceis*; but the more recent work of Marstrander makes it more probable that the Scandinavian is the original, the Irish the loan.¹⁷

In the general meaning, "spear" we find *kesja* in the *Magnús-flokkur* of Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, composed about 1045, strophe 21; "Yonder at Helganes the followers of Swain bowed before the spears (*fyr kesjum*)."¹⁸ Far more significant is the description in the *Egils Saga*, Chapter 53, of a *kesja*, of the type known as *brynþvari*, carried by Þórólfr Kveldulfsson in the battle of "á Vínheiði við Vínuskógi," which the author mistakenly identifies with the battle of Brunnanburg. Actually the date of the event must be placed about 925.¹⁹ We read; "He had a *kesja* in his hand. The blade was two ells long and the tip was fashioned into a four-sided point, but above (the tip) the blade was broad. The socket was both long and thick and the shaft not longer than one could reach with his hand to the socket. And the shaft was very thick. Such spears are called *brynþvarar*."²⁰ A similar weapon carried by Goliath is described in *Stjórn*, Chapter 233.²¹ It is there called *bryntröll*, a term, according to Falk incorrectly used.²¹ The weapon is such

¹⁵ *Flateyjarbók*, with preface by G. Vigfusson and C. R. Unger (Kristiania, 1860-1868), vol. II, p. 273.

¹⁶ *Vesterlandenes Inflydelse*, Vidensk. Selsk. Skr. (Kristiania, 1905), p. 208.

¹⁷ Carl J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske Sprogs Historie i Irland*, Vidensk. Selsk. Skr., Kristiania, 1915.

¹⁸ Joh. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, vol. III, p. 70 ff.; F. Jónsson, *Egils Saga* (Halle, 1894), p. xxii; Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 80; F. Jónsson, *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie* (Köbenhavn, 1907).

¹⁹ F. Jónsson, *Egils Saga*, p. 152.

²⁰ C. R. Unger, *Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie* (Kristiania, 1862).

²¹ Falk, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 and 111.

a one as we are seeking; "In his hand (Goliath) had a spear of the hardest iron, so heavy that the shaft weighed six hundred shillings. It was so shaped that the blade was broad toward the socket, but the tip was shaped as a four-sided point. Such a spear is called *bryntroll*."

The *hepti-sax*, though mentioned only once, is well known to English scholars; for its mention occurs in the famous Barðardal episode of the *Grettis Saga*, so often equated with the Beowulf account of the death of Grendel's dam. The word is equated with *hæftmēce*, a nonce word in the Beowulf episode. To follow the translation of Morris; "But when Grettir came anigh, the giant leapt up and caught up a glaive and smote the new-comer, for with that glaive might a man both cut and thrust; a wooden shaft it had and that fashion of weapon men called then heft-sax."²²

Finally the *atgeirr* (O.E. *ætgar*, O.H.G. *azgēr*) occurs frequently both in prose and poetry. The most famous *atgeirr* possibly is that of Gunnar in the *Njála*, a saga of the 12th century, but presenting 10th century events. Gunnar use the spear for thrusting and parrying, once also for throwing.²³

None of the passages cited above go back in date so far as to the battle of Saucourt (881). The earliest reference (the passage from the *Egils Saga* describing Thorolf's *kesja*) however, goes back to events of 925 and treats of the same general period as *Gormont et Isembart*, the same type of Viking warfare, and implies moreover that the weapon is of a well-known type. The other passages are almost all drawn from poems or accounts of the 10th and 11th centuries. Except for a few songs we have no earlier sources to seek. But the mass of evidence, of which that cited is only a small part, all suggests the *hoggspjót* to be a common type known all over Scandinavia and not a late innovation.

The argument presented in this article can be summed up in a few words. Although the chansons de geste seem often exaggerated and sometimes fantastic in tone, the form of the fighting (comic incidents neglected) is monotonously correct. Weapons are used by Christian knights always in the same manner, that of the 11th and 12th centuries. *Gormont et Isembart*, however, contains a

²² E. Magnússon and Wm. Morris, *The Story of Grettir the Strong* (London, 1869), p. 197.

²³ Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

striking episode entirely inconsistent with such practice. The incident is, on the other hand, entirely in conformity with Scandinavian usage. Since the poem echoes the battle of Saucourt fought by Scandinavians, it is reasonable to assume that the episode of the duel was borrowed from a Scandinavian source, presumably a poem.

University of Iowa

STEPHEN H. BUSH
HENNING LARSEN

CHAUCER STUDIES, 1929

The year just past was apparently a period of quiescence in Chaucerian studies: no great editions and only one extended monograph appeared; and the number of shorter studies and notes, though by no means inconsiderable, fell noticeably short of the total for the last two years. The quality, one need hardly say, is as varied as ever.

I have merely to record the publication of the first volume of the magnificent Shakespeare Head edition of the *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, Blackwell), to be completed in eight sumptuous tomes at twenty-five guineas the set. Alas, I have not seen it, nor is it likely that scholars, or even college libraries, will be at much pains to acquire it; for it pretends to no scientific value, and like the Kelmscott Chaucer of happy memory is an item for collectors. Still, every Chaucerian will rejoice to see the poet so nobly adorned, and, for all his superciliousness, he will envy lucky possessors and pray that a copy may find its way, if not into his own, at least into his university library.

But every scholar can and should own the interesting edition of the *Manciples Tale* by Dr. Gustav Plessow.¹ This is, strictly speaking, hardly an "edition" in the ordinary sense, but a collection of materials for *Seminar-übungen* in Middle English or in Chaucer. The author gives us a type-facsimile of Landsdowne MS. 851 and *literatim* transcripts of the Ellesmere and of Harley 7334.

¹ *Des Haushälters Erzählung aus dem 'Canterbury Geschichten'* Gottfried Chaucers. Berlin und Leipzig. DeGruyter. Trübners Philologische Bibliothek 12.

To this are added a classification of the MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales*, based frankly on Brusendorff, a valuable set of directions for the study and mastery of ME. paleography, thus laying a proper foundation for textual criticism, a complete scansion, and critical translation of the Ellesmere text into Modern German. Finally, in a last section, "Quelle and Aufbau," Dr. Plessow prints Ovid's version, the source of the *Manciples Tale*, apparently, *in extenso*, and very full abstracts of the other analogues; and shows in detail how source-hunting should and should not be carried on. The most valuable thing here is his study of the rhetorical devices by which Ovid's brief apologue has been elaborated to the dimensions of a full-bodied Canterbury Tale. Here Dr. Plessow builds on Manly's British Academy lecture of 1926, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," and illustrates by a striking example how fruitful this way of approach may be. From a study of the rhetorical art of the tale, and from its obvious relations to the *Roman de la Rose*, Plessow comes to the conclusion that it was written before the year 1383/4. With this speculative chronology I am not now concerned; what I *am* concerned with is the character of the training that such a text-book implies. We need to remind ourselves in this country, now more than ever, when a perverse "humanism" is rampant, that if today we can read Chaucer with pleasure, if he really counts for us as one of the two or three greatest poets in our literature, it is because of the work of scholars, great and small, who have been trained, often in the school of sad experience, in the *minutiae* of their job. Dryden, in 1701, wrote one of the best criticisms of Chaucer that have been done to this day; and Lowell, in 1868, wrote another. Men of genius might have gone on writing others still. But all of them put together could not have advanced us half so far toward an aesthetic enjoyment of Chaucer as Tyrwhitt's laborious annotation of the *Canterbury Tales* or Child's severely technical "Observations on the Language of Chaucer."

But now I must turn to my tale again. And here it is my pleasant duty to mention the translation of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, with parallel text, by Nathaniel E. Griffin and Arthur Beckwith Myrick (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia). The translation will be useful; even more, one hopes, the Italian text; and Dr. Griffin's introduction (107 pp.) brings together a mass of material that we have hitherto had to seek in out-of-the-way places.

Of particular value is the section (pp. 95-107) on "The Bearing of the *Filostrato* upon English Literature." Both collaborators are to be congratulated on a solid piece of work and, not least, the University of Pennsylvania Press on a beautiful book.

Dr. Koch has given in *Anglia* (LIII, 1-101) the full accounting he promised last year of the debatable readings in his recent edition of the Minor Poems, and a thorough-going accounting it is. One may not share Koch's confidence always in his decisions, but it is impossible to regard them without respect. Another contribution to textual criticism is Miss Margaret Kilgour's "The Manuscript Sources of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales" (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 106-201). Miss Kilgour here carries on the study begun by Dr. W. W. Greg in the *PMLA.* for 1924. But she takes as the basis for her collation a much larger section of the text, the *Prologue* and the *Pardoner's Tale*. The result, in her opinion, is to confirm decisely the conclusion to which Dr. Greg was not willing to commit himself: the basis for the revision of Caxton's first edition was either A³ (i. e. B. M. Add. 35286) or a MS. remarkably close to it. Miss Kilgour's article was published in the *PMLA.* for March. In the issue for December (XLIV, 1251-1253) Dr. Greg reiterates his original position, unaffected by Miss Kilgour's argument, that some of the variations between A³ and Caxton's changes in his second edition are such as to bar A³ as his specific source. Miss Kilgour, however, is of the same opinion still: in a brief rejoinder (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 1253) she declares her conviction that if A³ was not the actual source, it was certainly a MS. much more closely allied to it than to any other examined. Indeed, there is no conclusive evidence that A³ was not the source, and not a little to suggest that it was. But she admits that pending an exhaustive examination the case must remain open. Finally, Miss Hammond's important paper (*MP*, XXVII, 27-33) not only identifies a second Chaucerian scribe, but raises fundamental questions of the ways of book production in the age before printing, and of textual criticism as well.

When we turn from purely textual matters to the critical side, the slenderness of the year's output is striking. The only important monograph is Professor Edgar Finley Shannon's *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* (Harvard University Press). The author has here brought together the whole body of Chaucer's borrowings from

the Latin classics, and has attempted to appraise them and the profound influence they exercised on his work. The influence came, of course, chiefly from Ovid and Vergil, most of all from Ovid, and perhaps Professor Shannon's prettiest piece of philological detective work is his demonstration that when Chaucer says in the Proem to the *Anelida*, "First folow I Stace and after him Corinne," the mysterious allusion to "Corinne" means quite certainly the *Amores* of Ovid. Dr. Shannon shows that scholars of the early Renaissance at least knew this poem "sub titulo Corinnae Ovidii." Again, Chaucer's use of *Metamorphoseos* for *Metamorphoseon* is to be attributed not to his ignorance of Greek, real as that was, but to his following the general practice of his age. Compared with his use of Vergil and Ovid, Chaucer drew but slightly on the other Roman poets, and Professor Shannon disposes of them adequately in a short chapter. But even here there is one most interesting detail: the convincing argument that Chaucer knew the *Argonauticon* of Valerius Flaccus and that what little knowledge of this poet there was in mediaeval Europe seems to have come from Britain; if, indeed, it existed elsewhere at all. *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* is thus a book of great importance: as a collection of materials it will be indispensable, nor is it lacking in acute observations; but Professor Shannon's criticism is distinctly weak. His last chapter, in which he essays an appraisal of the Latin influence on Chaucer leaves one, if I may trust my own feeling, with a sense that the things that matter have been left unsaid, that the researcher has once more been imperfectly submerged in the critic.

A year ago I was able to catalogue a considerable number of Chauceriana; this year I have only three, all from the *Times Literary Supplement*. In an interesting communication of March 14, Mr. E. St. John Brooks proves from certain entries in a cartulary of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, that Chaucer's mother, Agnes Northwell, was a Copton—Mr. Manly's conjecture that her maiden name may have been Pelican is therefore unnecessary. In successive communications (May 9, May 16, and June 13) Miss Ramona Bressie, Mr. Manly, and Mr. Bernard M. Wagner have suggested various persons as the possible original of Adam Scrievyn, but with little result. Of considerable value, on the other hand, is Mr. W. R. Lethaby's little article on Chaucer's Tomb (February 21), with notes by Katherine A. Esdaile (February 28).

and Walter A. Godfrey (March 7). Mr. Lethaby makes it all but certain that the tomb erected by Nicholas Brigham in 1556 was not an older monument erected in a new place but a new work, and that it is to "be regarded as the actual tomb of Chaucer and not merely as a monument set up in his greater honour." Mr. Manly and Miss Rickert have not published this year any further results of their delving into the records, but one of their pupils, Miss Florence White, has printed in *MP.* (xxvi, 248 f.; 378 f.; xxvii, 123 f.) a full abstract of the depositions in the celebrated case of Sir John de Roches *vs.* John Hawley. Mr. Manly made use of them in his Lowell lectures; but nothing so well illustrates that vivid figure as the documents themselves. Miss White could not give us these—they run to seventy-one membranes of highly abbreviated Chancery Latin—but she has given a coherent and intelligible summary.

The De Roches-Hawley case went on for fifteen years, and even then reached no conclusion. The same fate, I am afraid, in our present state of knowledge, awaits every effort to determine the character of Chaucer's "lost" works or the details of Chaucerian chronology. Viktor Langhans has ventured on both these wild-goose chases in a single year; and although he conducts the chase skilfully he comes out precisely where one would expect. In his first article, "Chaucers Angebliche Übersetzung des Traktates *De Contemptu Mundi*" (*Anglia*, LII, 325 ff.) he tries to show that Chaucer's translation of this tract of Pope Innocent's is a ghost work pure and simple. The argument is often tenuous, but it might be sufficient, save for Chaucer's express words in the *Prologue to the Legend*. This apparently conclusive testimony Langhans dismisses as a clumsy interpolation. The irony of it, of course, is that Langhans, having in earlier papers expended enormous energy to prove that the F-prologue is a banal *rifacimento*, now discovers that this egregious performance—which does not contain the decisive line—actually here preserves the better text! This article is at least a sober and plausible piece of work; his second, "Die Datierung der Prosastücke Chaucers" (*Anglia*, LIII, 235 f.), it is difficult to treat with patience. The date of the *Astrolabe* (1391-92), of course, is secure; and the dating of the *Boethius* (ca. 1380) seems as good as any. But the argument concerning the date of the *Melibeus*, which Langhans places between 1368 and 1372, is flimsy;

and the long dissertation to prove that the *Parson's Tale* was written at Hatfield somewhere about 1358 in a mood of religious fervor and exaltation is, more especially in its details, mere fantastic futility.

I have glided imperceptibly from chronology into criticism. And here, happily, I have no fantasies to record. Miss Agnes Getty's article, "Chaucer's Changing Conception of the Humble Lover" (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 202 ff.), would trace an evolution in the poet's treatment of the conventional mediaeval figure. Beginning with a matter-of-fact conformity to the courtly love conventions, Chaucer came gradually to revolt against them and to treat love humorously and realistically. I have no fault to find with Miss Getty's main thesis, but *revolt* seems too strong a word. Chaucer certainly developed in range of subject-matter and in freedom in handling it; but I have no feeling that he ever revolted. Mr. Coolidge Otis Chapman's paper on Chaucer's knowledge of preaching and preachers (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 178.) in effect merely sums up his earlier studies; but Professor Graydon's startling "Defense of Criseyde" (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 140 ff.) is certainly something of a shocker. He would have us believe that Cressida did not wantonly and wickedly betray Troilus, as we have always supposed, but that Troilus himself, in his insensate jealousy, having divulged their *amour* to Cassandra, had made it a matter of common gossip and thrown her into the arms of Diomedes. The argument almost persuades one—till one turns to the text. Mr. Graydon has been effectively answered by Mr. Joseph M. Beatty (*SP.*, xxvi, 470 f.) and by Mr. Milton French (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 1246 f.). Mr. French's reply is especially convincing. He reminds us of the total effect of the poem, points out how wrong-headed Professor Graydon's article frequently is, and quotes the passages that completely demolish it (v, 1051-1057, 1072-1078, 1828-1834). But the real answer to Mr. Graydon is the passage with which the article closes: "The danger of such criticism as Mr. Graydon's is that it passes insensibly from condemnation of a character in a book to condemnation, usually unintentional, of the author himself. If Troilus and not Criseyde be the criminal, then Chaucer didn't know what he was about."

Mr. Hulbert in his interesting study, "What was Chaucer's Aim in the *Knight's Tale*?" (*SP.*, xxvi, 374 f.), has no revolu-

tionary designs. He asks how to account for the changes that the English poet has made in the *Teseide*. They are not obviously improvements; and they are certainly not accidental. Mr. Hulbert's suggestion is that they may be accounted for by supposing that Chaucer set out to convert Boccaccio's romantic tragedy into a *demande d'amour*: "Which of two young men of equal worth and with almost equal claims shall (or should) win the lady?" Professor Kemp Malone has thrown light on the Griselda story ("Patient Griseldus," *RR.*, xx, 340 ff.) by bringing together, with brief comment, a curious group of analogues from folk-lore, "fairy tales in which the lord, not the lady undergoes trials that strain patience to the utmost. The type may be named the 'male Griselda,' or, more simply, 'Griseldus.'" It belongs patently to the same family as the Griselda stories, and takes "us back to Arabia and to the legends that cluster around the Queen of Sheba."

There remain a number of brief notes and comments and one curious Chaucer allusion. Mr. B. J. Timmer shows (*ES.*, xi, 20 f.) that Skeat was wrong in supposing (i, 527) that the name "Faire Rewthelesse" in Chaucer's *Compleynt to his Lady* is a translation of the French phrase *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, which occurs as the title of a translation once attributed to Chaucer, for the original is by Alain Chartier (1385-1430). The idea is a commonplace in French and Provençal love poetry, and Mr. Timmer has been unable to identify a precise source. Mr. G. Bonnard (*RES.*, v, 323 f.) offers, I think, a happy solution of the tortuous lines in the *Troilus* (v, 1637-8):

For with ful yvel wil list him to leve
That loveth wel, in swich cas, thogh him greve.

He takes *leve* = believe, and translates, "He that loves well, even though he suffer from his love, can hardly, in such case, bring himself to believe in a change." Equally successful is Mr. George L. Frost's criticism (*MLN.*, XLIV, 496 f.) of Manly's suggestion (*C. T.*, p. 518) that *parvis* in the description of the Man of Law means, not the porch of St. Paul's, as is usually held, but either the Court of Exchequer or the moots of students in the Inns of Court. Mr. Frost renders it highly probable that it refers to the north aisle of St. Paul's. A small but valuable addition to our

knowledge of mediaeval music is Mrs. Dieckmann's explanation (*MP.*, xxvi, 279 f.) of *burdoun*, a term which Chaucer uses twice. Her evidence leaves no doubt that the word means not "burden of a song," or "bass accompaniment," but a monotonous and repetitious ground melody sung as accompaniment to the tune." Two notes on the *Canterbury Tales* exhaust the list. Mr. Sigurd Hustvedt (*MLN.*, xliv, 182) has found a new, and really informing, parallel to the cryptic phrase in the *Knight's Tale*, "under the sonne he loketh," in a ballad in Kinloch's *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, "John of Cocklesmuir"; and Mr. G. M. Rutter (*MLN.*, xliii, 536), finally, suggests that the "Holy Jew" of the *Pardoner's Prologue* (C351) may be a faint reflection of Gideon and his wonder working fleece (*Judges* vi). I strongly suspect that this particular "Holy Jew" is not to be found among the patriarchs of the Old Testament.

The Chaucer allusion has been brought to light by Mr. L. B. Wright, "A Character from Chaucer in XVII Century Satire" (*MLN.*, xliv, 364 ff.), and it was worth discovery. In 1645 one James Story wrote a bombastic poem in heroic couplets, stiff with classical allusions, celebrating the part played by the Puritan women in the defense of Lyme (Devon) against the royalists. "A MS. copy of this poem fell into the hands of a royalist printer; and when the printed version came forth it was equipped with thirty pages of epistles and verses in burlesque commendation of the author. The text was supplemented with explanatory notes which twisted the pious author's meaning into ridiculous or obscene nonsense. A pompous prologue and epilogue were written. And most interesting of all, a character of the author drawn out of Chaucer by I. Chaucer, junior, was included." The "Character," fifty-two lines, is an amusing conglomeration of phrases from the General Prologue held together by scraps of Middle English of the Stuart period.

M. B. RUDD

The University of Minnesota

CHAUCER AND THE *LEGENDA AUREA*

There is more evidence than is commonly noted for Chaucer's familiarity with the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. In the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 1688-91) he says of Lucretia:

Nat only that thise payens her comende,
But he that cleped is in our Legende
The grete Austin hath greet compassioun
Of this Lucresse, that starf at Rome toun.

Chaucer doubtless depended on memory for the sentiment mentioned and the *obiter dictum* about the saint, but his memory of the second was more accurate.¹ "Our Legende," the "our" having the intimacy and homeliness of the Domestic Our,² can hardly be anything but this widely-used collection. "Grete" assuredly sums up Jacobus' opinion of St. Augustine among the four Latin Doctors. He begins his inevitable etymological prologue, "Augustinus hoc nomen sortitus est vel propter excellentiam dignitatis . . ."; and proceeds, "Propter excellentiam, quoniam, sicut Augustus praecebat omnes reges, sic et iste excellit omnes doctores, . . . Unde alii doctores comparantur stellis, . . . Hic autem comparatur soli, . . ." with more to the same effect. The Life proper begins, "Augustinus doctor egregius . . ." This preëminence of Augustine is well borne out by Jacobus' account of the other three; he has no such praise for St. Gregory, Jerome or Ambrose. What is equally to the point, there is no such tribute to Augustine's greatness, or superiority to other doctors, in the Sarum, York or Roman breviary, or in the account of him by the tenth century Simeon Metaphrastes, as Latinized by Lippomani,³

¹ Unfortunately in *De civ. Dei*, I, 19, the purpose is polemic, to defend against pagan critics Christian women who had suffered like Lucretia but less impatiently. Using her as a foil, Augustine shows no compassion for her, but blames her suicide. He never mentions her elsewhere, except briefly in II, 17.

² *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 425 ff.

³ Reissued by Surius, and reprinted in *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum* (Turin, 1875-80), VIII, 676 ff. The above etymologizing praises are merely borrowed from Jacobus in certain late Middle English accounts of Augustine: Horstmann, *Sammlung altengl. Legenden* (1878), p. 61; *Capgrave's Lives* (EETS., 1910), p. 2. Augustine was not a popularly conspicuous saint, and in many legends does not appear at all.

a congener of whose collection Chaucer used for the life of St. Cecilia in the *Second Nun's Tale*.

In this also we should probably recognize direct use of the *Legenda Aurea*, in which the legend of Cecilia so closely resembles Chaucer's. The evidence that he knew its account of Augustine strengthens the presumption that he used it here, and that his undoubted parallels to the Simeon version and others are due to his supplementary use of a version similar to them. That is, the presumption seems against use of a single hypothetical legend combining features of the two, as has been thought by Kölbing,⁴ Holthausen,⁵ apparently Dr. G. H. Gerould,⁶ and others. In the first place, it is hard to doubt that he used either the *Legenda Aurea* version or a derivative of it. While his poem contains many details peculiar now to one and now to the other of the above versions, it contains at least two important passages which there is reason to believe appeared first in the *Legenda Aurea*. One contains the fantastic explanations of Cecilia's name (ll. 85-119), which are found nowhere else, are paralleled by similar explanations elsewhere in the *Legenda*, and cannot reasonably be deemed a later edition to Chaucer's poem. The Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS even have at this point the side-note, *Interpretacio nominis Cecilie quam ponit frater Iacobus Ianuensis in legenda (aurea, MS Hn)*; most if not all of such side-notes probably are Chaucer's own, though in a particular case we cannot be certain. The other is Chaucer's citation (ll. 270-83) of St. Ambrose and the Proper Preface of the mass for St. Cecilia's day in the Ambrosian missal, a passage which also is in the *Legenda Aurea* and in no other version.⁷ The chances are that this Milanese passage was first introduced into this Roman legend by Jacobus. The liturgy named after St. Ambrose, though its influence has been detected elsewhere, was used chiefly in churches subject to the see of Milan (where

⁴ *Engl. Stud.*, I, 227-8; II, 281. It is not certain whether in the view of these writers the "lost version" followed the *Legenda Aurea*, or its sources.

⁵ *Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr. u. Litt.*, LXXXVII, 269, a confused but unduly neglected article. There is room for a fresh study of the sources of the *Second Nun*, especially when the Bollandists reach 22 Nov., St. Cecilia's day.

⁶ *The Saint's Legend*, p. 241.

⁷ On early parallels to the legend see an article in *PMLA* for March, 1930 (XLV).

it is still used). Jacobus, though a Genoese, for many years was provincial of the Dominican order in Lombardy and otherwise employed by it there; his *Legenda* indeed in one or two parts shows such familiarity with Lombard history that it was sometimes called *Historia Lombardica*. The indications are then that matter contributed by Jacobus appears in Chaucer's poem, and there is but one supposition on which anyone can hold to Chaucer's use of a single version combining features from Jacobus' and from some version like those adduced by Holthausen and Kölbing. This is that someone within a century before Chaucer made the combination, constantly and minutely altering Jacobus' vastly admired work, and that this version has quite disappeared. None such is known now. The only end served by such a supposition is to shift from Chaucer to someone else the devoted and skilful labor of combining the two legends. But in his other works over and over again this is precisely the sort of thing Chaucer did. It is hard to understand the logic of fancying a lost version in order to attribute less wide reading and less ingenious writing to a man of Chaucer's curiosity, energy and taste. *Quasi—Impossibile est ut non veniant* Mischredaktionen, *vae autem illi per quem veniunt*. Here goes into Limbo, one is forced to think, another conjectural "lost version." Perhaps it will find there the enlarged *Roman de Brut* and *de Troye*, and the supposed common source of the *Franklin's Tale* and Boccaccio's May-garden-in-January story.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK

University of California

CHAUCER AND ELIZABETHAN ASTROLOGY

(a)

Two Chaucer allusions of the Elizabethan period which have been overlooked by Miss Spurgeon, and which do not appear in subsequent lists, are as follows:

1601. Chamber, John. *A Treatise against Iudicial Astrologie*. . . . Written by Iohn Chamber, one of the Prebendaries of her Maiesties free Chappell of Windsor, and Fellow of Eaton College. Printed at London by John Harison . . . 1601, p. 43.

(Speaking of false prophecies for 1588.)

The *Spaniards* belike thought, that this consummation of 88 would be by

water, and therefore very politikely they began to prepare for it betime, longer a great deale then euer *Noah* did for the flood. And sure they might haue done well, if they had bin provided of a pilot, such as was *Hen. Nicholas* in *Chaucer*. But it fell out reasonable well with them, for they sped almost as well in their *Calloones*, as if they had bin in his tubs.

1603. Heydon, Christopher. *A Defence of Iudiciall Astrologie, In Answer to A Treatise lately published by M. Iohn Chamber*. Wherein all those places of Scripture, Councells, Fathers, Schoolemen, later Divines, Philosophers, Histories, Lawes, Constitutions, and reasons drawne out of Sixtus Empericus, Picus, Pererius, Sixtus ab Heminga, and others, against this Arte, are particularly examined: and the lawfulness thereof, by equiualent proofes warranted. . . . Printed by Iohn Legat, Printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. 1603, p. 206.

(Heydon replies to Chamber, chapter by chapter.)

His ieast of *Hen. Nicholas* in *Chaucer*, whome he would haue a pilot for the *Spanyard*, dreaming of a consummation by waters is absurd: and his tubbe were better borrowed of *Hen. Nicholas* to hide his owne head in, sith he may blush to behold the light; that not forbearing to taxe other men so boldly for lying, doth ly all meanes in this manner seeke to obscure the truth.

(b)

It speaks rather well for Chaucer's literary status at this time that the *Miller's Tale* should have been brought into this heated argument concerning the validity of astrological prediction, even though the passage in Heydon gives no indication that he had read Chaucer; and it seems rather likely that he had not, since he takes no advantage of the opportunity offered him to combat Chamber with passages in Chaucer where the legitimate use of astrology is attested.

The matter of the clerk's name is rather interesting in that the only recorded variant of "hende Nicholas" is "fayre Nicholas." "Hen." does not appear in any of the manuscripts, nor in the 1598 or 1602 editions of Speght.¹ It seems, therefore, that these men at least were not familiar with the language of Chaucer.

CARROLL CAMDEN, JR.

University of Iowa

¹ Miss Florence Teager very kindly examined for me the large (and practically complete) list of photostat copies on hand at the University of Chicago for their textual project.

BEOWULF 2596-99

Professor W. W. Lawrence (*Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, 1928, pp. 227-28) asks and leaves unanswered the question why the poet should have made Beowulf's thegns desert him at the onset of the fire-drake (*Beowulf* 2596-99). He points out that "this attribution of abject cowardice and faithlessness to the *comitatus* of the hero, in an age which emphasized courage and fidelity above all things, is most striking;" but he concludes that the incident is proper because it "throws the strongest light upon the heroism of the single faithful retainer."¹

Cannot the answer be found in the folk-tale named "The Bear's Son"?² In that tale, which underlies the plot of Beowulf's combats with Grendel and Grendel's dam, the hero's cowardly (or treacherous) companions desert him after his descent to the cave of the waterfall-troll. In *Beowulf* the obvious place for such an incident would be in the account of Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother (1492-1631); yet for a reason which I suggest below, the poet modifies the tradition to the extent of making the Danes the cravens, while the hero's band remain steadfast (1591-1605).³ In the dragon-episode, on the other hand, Beowulf's followers definitely leave him, and even run off to a wood to hide. While granting that the cowardice of the *comitatus* helps to set off Wiglaf's courage (which is evident enough without the contrast), I do not feel that the desertion is a necessary or desirable part of the episode; the events would go forward equally well without it, and the reader's attention would not be distracted from the central theme. It would appear that the poet decided to take advantage of his final opportunity to introduce the familiar (and probably expected) desertion of a hero by his retainers, an opportunity that he had slighted in the earlier episode of the fight with Grendel's mother.⁴

¹ *Loc. cit.*; cf. pp. 176-77.

² See the typical outline of this widespread tale in Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74; the fullest discussion of the tale is that in F. Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte, I: Beowulf* (Munich, 1910).

³ The departure of the Danes from the mere shows the poet's desire to conform with tradition, even where he does not wish to follow it explicitly. Cf. Lawrence, p. 176.

⁴ This hypothesis rests upon the assumption that the poet was artist

Such displacement of narrative materials suggests that the poet had a definite object in view—the preservation, so far as traditional story would permit, of the good name of Beowulf and his companions. The worst service he could have rendered to Geatish honor would have been to show the Geats humiliated in the sight of the warlike Danes. Consequently, in the fight with Grendel's dam, where the folk-tale called for the flight of Beowulf's followers, the poet, realizing how destructive of Geatish self-esteem such an event would be, made the Danes the deserters instead. Later, however, with the desertion-theme still virtually unused, he arrived at a point in his narrative where a desertion-story was possible; and this time he used it, for with the scene in Geatland, the desertion would be observed only by the cowards' own countrymen, and the deserters would be upbraided only by Wiglaf, a man of their own people. To be sure, their crime intrinsically was no less heinous than it would have been on the former occasion, but this time it was at most a domestic scandal, not a humbling of Geatish pride before foreigners.

PUTNAM FENNELL JONES

University of Pittsburgh

EUPHUES AND OVID'S HEROICAL EPISTLES

Lyly's indebtedness in *Euphues* to Ovid¹ must be extended to include the first half of Lucilla's long reply to Euphues' proposal of marriage in which "she fed him indifferently with hope and despair, reason and affection, life and death." The substance of this part of her answer, to the extent of more than two pages,² is borrowed from Helen's Epistle to Paris, in Ovid's *Heroical Epistles*, of which roughly one-third is paraphrased in Lucilla's words, as shown by the fact that Lucilla not only repeats Ovid's thoughts but repeats them *in the same order*.

enough to use incidents from one story to embellish another. There is in folk-lore no connection between the tale of "The Bear's Son" and stories of dragon-slaying.

¹ A. Feuillerat, in his *John Lyly*, pp. 316-7, collects Lyly's indebtednesses to Ovid.

² *Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond, 1902, vol. I, p. 220, line 5, to p. 222, line 6.

Lyly's close dependence upon Ovid in Lucilla's answer has been obscured by the many changes in his selective paraphrase, resulting from his omission or alteration of considerable portions of Helen's Epistle and from his addition of not a little ornamental euphuistic material in his working over Helen's thoughts to fit them into the Lucilla-Euphues episode. For Lucilla's speech, however, Lyly has preserved the principal features of Ovid's minute portrayal of the reasoning of the female mind in Helen's Epistle; Lucilla's treatment of her lover is essentially the same as the treatment accorded Paris by Helen. As Helen "offred him hope, but fed him with dispayre," so Lucilla "fed him [Euphues] indifferently with hope and despair." The fickle Lucilla is true daughter to Helen, as is many another, similarly minded Elizabethan heroine.

The passages in Epistle XVII with which we are concerned are printed below, in George Turberville's translation (1567), on the right side of a double-columned page. They are numbered consecutively from [1] to [22], and are placed approximately opposite the paraphrased *Euphues* passages, correspondingly numbered. In the notes at the bottom of the page are given the Latin lines for each of the derived sections in the Lucilla passage quoted, with the exception of the lines for section [8], a long quotation which may be easily located by the line-reference given.

EUPHUES

[1] Gentleman as you may suspecte
me of Idelnesse in giuing eare to your
talke, so may you conuince me of
lyghtenesse in answering such toyes,
certes as you haue made mine eares
glowe at the rehearsall of your loue,

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS*

[1] Now since thy letters have
thus rashly wrongd my sight:
I thought it needefull with my penne
thy Pistle to requite.
And didst thou dare a guest,
(the bounds of hostage broke?)

* *The Heroicall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ovidius Naso. Translated [1567] into English Verse by George Turberville*, ed. by Frederick Boas, Cresset Press, London, 1928. The twenty-two sections quoted in this article from Turberville's translation of Ovid's Epistle XVII (in Turberville the number of this Epistle is XVI) are found on the following pages of this edition: [1] on p. 211; [2] on p. 212; [3], [4] on p. 213; [5], [6], [7] on p. 215; [8] on p. 216; [9], [10], [11], [12] on p. 217; [13], [14], [15], [16] on p. 220; [17], [18], [19] on pp. 220-221; [20] on p. 222; [21] on p. 222; and [22] on pp. 223-224.

EUPHUES

so haue you galled my hart with the remembrance of your folly. *Though you came to Naples as a stranger, yet were you welcome to my fathers house as a friend.* And can you then so much transgresse ye bounds of honour (I will not say of honestie) as to sollicite a sute more sharpe to me then deathe?

[2] I haue hetherto God bethancked, liued wythout suspition of lewdenesse, and shall I nowe incurre the daunger of sensuall lybertie? What hope can you haue to obtayne my loue, seeing yet I coulde neuer affoord you a good looke? Doe you therefore thinke me easely entised to the bent of your bow, bicause I was easely entreated to lysten to your late discourse? Or seeing mee (as finely you glose) to excell all other in beautie, did you deeme that I would exceed all other

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

And honest Matrone well espousde,
to pleasure to provoke?
For this by whisking windes
ytost on waving Seas,
Did Taenaris thee with port relieve
thy painefull plight to ease?
*Nor (though inguestred thou
camst from a Country farre)
My Pallace did gainst thee as then
his churlish gates debarre?*
That such a wrong should be
reward for good desert?
Thou that didst enter so hast playd
no gwestes but enmies part.⁴

[2] Yet honest is my fame,
I live devoyd of spot:
No lustfull Lecher for his life
is able me to blot.
Which makes me muse the more
what should embold thee so,
To take this straunge attempt in hand,
a married wife to wowe?
Cause Theseus wrongd me once,
well worthy am I deemde
To be a Ruffians rape againe,
and so to be esteemde?⁵

- ⁴ [1] Nunc oculos tua cum violarit epistula nostros,
non rescribendi gloria visa levis.
ausus es hospitii temeratis, advena, sacris
legitimam nuptae sollicitare fidem!
scilicet idcirco ventosa per aequora vectum
excepit portu Taenaris ora suo,
*nec tibi, diversa quamvis e gente venires,
oppositas habuit regia nostra fores,*
esset ut officii merces iniuria tanti!
qui sic intrabas, hospes an hostis eras?

Ep. xvii, 1-10.

- ⁵ [2] fama tamen clara est, et adhuc sine crimine vixi,
et laudem de me nullus adulter habet.
quo magis admiror, quae sit fiducia coepti,
spemque tori dederit quae tibi causa mei.
an, quia vim nobis Neptunius attulit heros,
rapta semel videor bis quoque digna rapi?

Ep. xvii, 17-22.

EUPHUES

in beastliness? [3] But yet I am not angry *Euphues* but in an agony, for who is shee that will frette or fume with one that loueth hir, if this loue to delude mee bee not dissembled.

[4] It is that which causeth me most to feare, not that my beautie is vnknown to my selfe but that commonly we poore wenches are deluded through lyght beliefe, and ye men are naturally enclined craftely to leade your lyfe. When the Foxe preacheth the Geese perishe. The Crocodile shrowdeth greatest treason vnder most pitifull teares: in a kissing mouth there lyeth a gallyng minde.

[5] You haue made so large proffer of your seruice, and so fayre promises of fidelytie, that were I not ouer charie of mine honestie, you would inueigle me to shake handes with chastitie. [6] But certes I will eyther

leade a Virgins lyfe in earth (though

I leade Apes in hell) or els follow

thee rather then thy giftes: [7] yet am I neither so precise to refuse thy proffer, neither so peeuish to disdain thy good will: So excellent alwayes are ye giftes which are made acceptable by the vertue of the giuer.

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

[3] Yet I am nothing wroth,
(for who can angry bee
With that she loves?) if this my love
be faithfull unto me.

[4] For thereof doubt I sore,
not for distrust at all,
Or that my face and featurd forme
into suspect I call:
But for such light beleefe
and credite workes our woe:
And suters tales are freight with fraud,
and fixed faith forgoe.⁶

[5] So great rewardes your lines
and letters me behight,
As well they might accoy, and cause
to yeeld a heauenly wight.

[6] But so I minded were
to breake the bounds of shame:
Thy selfe shouldst sooner make me yeeld
then all thy gifts of fame.
Or I for aye wyll live
and leade unspotted life,
Or thee more rather would ensue
then all thine offers rife:

[7] As I not scorne the same,
in price so are they thought
The greatest gifts to whom the geuer
hath their beauty brought.⁷

* [3] nec tamen irascor—quis enim succenset amanti?—
si modo, quem praefers, non simulatur amor.

[4] hoc quoque enim dubito—non quod fiducia desit,
aut mea sit facies non bene nota mihi;
sed quia credulitas damno solet esse puellis,
verbaque dicuntur vestra carere fide.

Ep. xvii, 35-40.

† [5] Munera tanta quidem promittit epistula dives
ut possint ipsas illa movere deas;

[6] sed si iam vellem fines transire pudoris,
tu melior culpa causa futurus eras.

[8] I di
cerne th
Thy wa
sighes, t
to blual
wanne f
be perce

[9] These
practises
would
teate of
[10] Be
thy rare
fection,
halfe m
bondes o
God shie
be so ca
commit t
[11] Les
dispise t
goe delig
it is piet

[12] T
hath soli
that go
neyther

EUPHUES

[8] I did at the firste entraunce discern thy loue but yet dissemble it. Thy wanton glaunces, thy scalding sighes, thy louing signes, caused me to blush; for shame, and to looke wanne for feare, least they should be perceiued of any.

[9] These subtilt shiftes, these paynted practises (if I were to be wonne) woulde soone weane mee from the teate of *Vesta*, to the toyes of *Venus*.

[10] Besides this thy comly grace, thy rare quallities, thy exquisite perfection, were able to moue a minde halfe mortified to transgresse the bondes of maydenly modestie. But God shielde *Lucilla*, that thou shouldest be so carelesse of thine honour as to commit the state thereof to a stranger.

[11] Learne thou by me *Euphues* to dispise things that be amiable, to forgoe delightfull practises, beleue mee it is pietie to abstayne from pleasure.

[12] Thou arte not the first that hath solicited this sute, but the first that goeth about to seduce mee, neyther discernest thou more then

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

[8] And eke at tables set
(though with dissembling brow,
I seeke to hide thine amorous tricks)
I note them well ynowe.
Sometime thou (wanton wight)
dost cast a glauncing blink

.
Againe you sigh as fast,
another time.

.
With fingers (Lord) how oft,
and with a talking brow,
Hast thou me given secrete signes,
I wote well where, and how.
And oft I stooode in feare
my husband sawe the same:
And often dreading to be spide
I blusht with bashful shame.*

[9] These fancies might have forst,
my ruthfull brest to bend,
And turnd my hart, if to aguilt
I would at all intende.

[10] Thy feature I confesse
is rare, and such to see,
As might allure a womans hart
to linck her selfe with thee.
I wishe that hap to fall
upon some single Dame:
Ere I with forraine love should seeke
my bridely bed to shame.

[11] Well liked thinges to lacke
by my example leare:
It is a vertue to abstaine
from what thou hast so deare.

[12] How many youthes have wisht
for that which thou doost crave?
What? Paris dost thou deeme that thou
alone good judgment have?

aut ego perpetuo famam sine labe tenebo,
aut ego te potius quam tua dona sequar;
[7] utque ea non sperno, sic acceptissima semper
munera sunt, auctor quae pretiosa facit.

Ep. xvii, 65-72.

* [8] Ep. xvii, 75-84.

EUPHUES

other, but darest more then any,
neyther hast thou more arte to dis-
couer thy meaninge, but more hearte

to open thy minde: [13] But thou [13] . . . thou didst preferre
preferrest mee before thy landes, thy
lyuings, thy lyfe: thou offerest thy
selfe a Sacrifice for my securitie,
thou proferest mee the whole and
onelye souereigntie of thy seruice:
[14] Truly I were very cruell and [14] I were too stonie if I would
hardehearted if I should not loue thee:
[15] harde hearted albeit I am not, [15] Good faith I am no steele,
but truly loue thee I cannot, whome
I doubt to be my louer.

[16] Moreouer I haue not bene vsed [16] I skillesse am in scapes,
to the court of *Cupide*, wherein ther be
more slights then there be Hares in
Athon, then Bees in *Hybla*, then stars

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

Thou seest no more then they,
but madder is thy mind:
Thy courage is no bett then theirs,
lesse shame in thee I find.⁹
For Pallas gift, and Junos raigne
that there in judgment stoode.
Then I thy vertue am,
then I to thee a raigne:
[14] I were too stonie if I would
not love the like againe.
[15] Good faith I am no steele,
but him to love I shonne
Who (scarce I think) may be my spouse
when all my worke is donne.¹⁰
[16] I skillesse am in scapes,
(the Gods record I call)
I never by deceitfull sleight
beguilde my Feere at all.¹¹

- ⁹ [9] his ego blanditiis, si peccatura fuisset,
flecterer; his poterant pectora nostra capi.
[10] est quoque, confiteor, facies tibi rara, potestque
velle sub amplexus ire puella tuos;
altera vel potius felix sine crimine fiat,
quam cadat externo noster amore pudor.
[11] disce meo exemplo formosis posse carere;
est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis.
[12] quam multos credis iuvenes optare quod optas,
qui sapiant? oculos an Paris unus habes?
non tu plus cernis, sed plus temerarius audes;
nec tibi plus cordis, sed minus oris, adest.

Ep. xvii, 91-102.

- ¹⁰ Prima mea est igitur Veneri placuisse voluptas;
[13] proxima, me visam praemia summa tibi,
nec te Palladios nec te Iunonis honores
auditis Helenae praeposuisse bonis.
ergo ego sum virtus, ego sum tibi nobile regnum!
[14] ferrea sim, si non hoc ego pectus—amem.
[15] ferrea, crede mihi, non sum; sed amare repugno
illum, quem fieri vix puto posse meum.

Ep. xvii, 131-138.

- ¹¹ [16] sum rudis ad Veneris furtum, nullaue fidelem—
di mihi sunt testes—lusimus arte virum.

Ep. xvii, 141-142.

EUPHUES

in Heauen. [17] Besides this, the common people heere in *Naples* are not onelye both verye suspitious of other mens matters and manners, but also very iealous ouer other mens children and maydens: [18] eyther therefore dissemble thy fancie, or desist from thy folly.

But why shouldest thou desist from the one, seeinge thou canst cunningly dissemble the other. [19] My father is nowe gone to *Venice*, and as I am vncerteine of his retourne, so am I not priuie to the cause of his trauayle:

[20] But yet is he so from hence that he seethe me in his absence. Knowest thou not *Euphues* that kinges haue long armes & rulers large reches? [21] neither let this comfort thee, that at his departure he deputed thee in *Philautus* place. Although my face cause him to mistrust my loyaltie, yet my fayth enforceth him to giue mee this lybertie, though he

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

[17] This dread dooth much annoy
and sore I am agast,
Suspecting all the peoples eyes
on us are fixed fast.
Nor this I feare in vaine,
the buzzing brute I know:
And *Æthra* what report had gone,
to me but late did showe.
[18] Unlesse thou mind to cease,
dissemble thou therefore:
But why shouldst thou now stinte thysute?
thou canst dissemble sore.
In secrete, use thy toyes,
and spare thou not to play:
[19] Now scope we have, though not the most,
my husband is away.
He now is farre from home,
affayres compeld him so:
A just and good occasion he
had out of towne to goe.¹²
[20] So is my spouse alacke,
as in his absence well
He dooth me garde: that Princes haue
long reach canst thou not tel?¹³
[21] That I am left with thee
now he is farre away
Muse not: he trusts my manners well
and thinkes in me some stay.
My face did make him dread,
he trustes my life full well:

¹² [17] Ipse malo metus est; iam nunc confundor, et omnes
in nostris oculos vultibus esse reor.
nec reor hoc falso; sensi mala murmura vulgi,
et quasdam voces rettulit *Aethra* mihi.

[18] at tu dissimula, nisi si desistere mavis!
sed cur desistas? dissimulare potes.

[19] lude, sed occulte! maior, non maxima, nobis
est data libertas, quod *Menelaus* abest.
ille quidem procul est, ita re cogente, profectus;
magna fuit subitae iustaque causa viae—
aut mihi sic visum est.

Ep. xvii, 147-157.

¹³ [20] sic meus hinc vir abest ut me custodiat absens—
an nescis longas regibus esse manus?

Ep. xvii, 165-166.

EUPHUES

be suspitious of my fayre hew, yet
is he secure of my firme honestie.

[22] But alas *Euphues*, what truth
can there be found in a trauayler?
what stay in a stranger? whose words
& bodyes both watch but for a winde,
whose feete are euer fleeting, whose
fayth plighted on the shoare, is tourned
to periurie when they hoiste saile.

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

The suretie which my manners breede,
my beauty doth expell.¹⁴

As straungers starters are,
uncertaine be their loves:
And when thou thinkst them furst of all
their wavering faith remooves.¹⁵

The juxtaposition of Turberville's rhymed verse translation and of Lyly's euphuistic prose paraphrases of the same thoughts of Ovid strikingly reveals the degree to which Lyly's prose in its mass of ornament outweighs Turberville's verse. Within the dozen years that separate the two works, prose had decorated itself with more than a legitimate amount of poetic trappings until it fairly glittered in its array of euphuistic figures of speech. In all this Lyly is further from Ovid than Turberville. In his surer instinct for the avoidance of the archaic in diction, however, and in his admirable firmness of sentence structure, Lyly offsets in part his over-ornamentation of his prose.

M. P. TILLEY

University of Michigan

A NOTE ON MISOGONUS

In his monumental and invaluable compilation, *The Elizabethan Stage* (IV, 31), Sir Edmund Chambers informs his readers that the manuscript play *Misogonus* ("In collection of the Duke of Devonshire") bears on the title-page and elsewhere certain names which, he says, "are all in later hands, some of them not of the sixteenth century." Sir Edmund's statement being, however, incorrect, and

¹⁴ [21] nec quod abest hic me tecum mirare relictam;
moribus et vitae credidit ille meae.
de facie metuit, vitae confidit, et illum
securum probitas, forma timere facit.

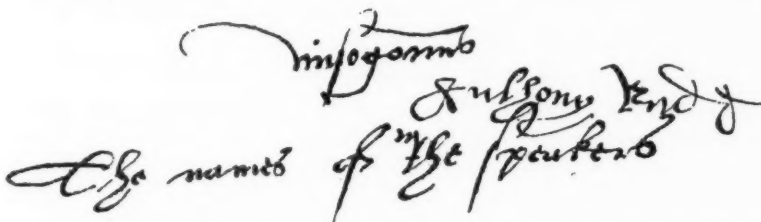
Ep. xvii, 171-174.

¹⁵ [22] certus in hospitibus non est amor; errat, ut ipsi,
cumque nihil speres firmitus esse, fuit.

Ep. xvii, 191-192.

the play being one of the most important in the annals of our literature, it is worth while recording the results of a recent examination of the manuscript, now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (HM 452).

The most important point to note about the manuscript title-page, dated "1577," is that the name (written immediately below the title) which has been generally read as "Anthony Rice" is not "Anthony Rice" but "Anthony Rudd." (See annexed facsimile.)



An equally important point to note here is that the hand which wrote this name is beyond the possibility of a doubt the same hand which wrote the title and the "names of the speakers," to wit: Lawrence Johnson's. These facts are of importance because we know nothing about an "Anthony Rice" who might have had anything to do with the writing of this play; whereas, on the other hand, we have a considerable body of knowledge regarding Bishop "Anthony Rudd," who might very well have been associated with Thomas Richards and Lawrence Johnson in the composition and production of this violently anti-Catholic comedy. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, in its interesting but all too brief account of him, says, *inter alia*: "Anthony Rudd (1549?-1615), bishop of St. David's born in Yorkshire in 1549 or 1550, was admitted *socius minor* at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 6 Sept. 1569, and *socius major* on 7 April 1570, having graduated B. A. 1566-7 and M. A. 1570. He became B. D. 1577 [the year in which Laurence Johnson took his M. A. at Cambridge!], and incorporated in that degree at Oxford on 9 July of the same year. He proceeded D. D. at Cambridge in 1583." We know that his sermons "were very acceptable to Queen Elizabeth" and that he subsequently lost the fickle Queen's favor as a result of a contemptible trick by Whitgift. That Rudd had literary aspirations seems to be indicated by the fact that four of his sermons, preached at court before Elizabeth, were subsequently published.

Regarding the note "Thomas Warde 1577, / Barfold" (at the bottom of the prologue-page, fol. 1b), not "Thomas Warde Barfold 1577," it is to be noted that—with the exception of the letters *Th*—the handwriting is a very modern Roman script, and that the "5" in "1577" is written over a "7." In connection with this memorandum it must be noted that someone—in all probability, John P. Collier—had tampered with the word "Keththeringe" [*sic*] on the title-page, "Ward" being written over the letters "ring." There is therefore no contemporary evidence to connect Thomas Warde of Jesus College with this play.

It should also be noted that the scribbled notation "W Wyllm" (in the right margin of fol. 11b) is in the old English handwriting of Thomas Richards (who was probably only a scribe), and that the notation "John / York / Jesu" (in the left margin of fol. 17a) is in the old English hand of Lawrence Johnson.

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

New York, N. Y.

A CUP FOR MY LADY PENELOPE

Under date of the year 1581 in Lord Roger North's Household Book¹ is the following entry:

Oct. 29. A cup to geve my Ladie Penelope to hir Marriage £11. 16 s.

That this "Ladie Penelope" was Penelope Devereux seems to be implied by the fact that Lord North and Lord Rich, Penelope Devereux's husband, were related by marriage. About 1555 North married Winifred, the sister of Robert, second Baron Rich, who was the father of Robert, third Baron Rich, the husband of Penelope Devereux.

The value of the gift also helps to prove that "my Ladie Penelope" was a close connection of Lord North, particularly when we note that the value of the gift which North presented to Queen Elizabeth each New Year was only £10.²

J. M. PURCELL

Purdue University

¹ *Progress of Queen Elizabeth*, II, 248.

² *DNB.*, XIV, 617.

ANAPESTIC FEET IN *PARADISE LOST*

The printer's manuscript¹ of the first book of *Paradise Lost* is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. Its presence has made possible the settlement of the question of Milton's attitude toward the use of anapestic feet in his formal epic—a question on which such eminent scholars as Masson and Saintsbury on one hand, and Robert Bridges and Charles Dobbins Brown on the other are divided.

We find many anapestic feet in *Paradise Lost* as it is printed to-day; but if we open an early edition of the epic, we find many of the anapests elided into iambs. The following are examples:

- 6, Sing Heav'nly Muse.
- 15, Above th'Aonian Mount.
- 84, But O how fall'n, how changed.
- 224, In bil-/lows leave /i'th' midst /a hor-/rid vale.

It scarcely need be said that present-day readers, both casual and scholarly, prefer the more easy, natural anapests. Masson and Saintsbury are especially earnest in their preference, and Saintsbury² even defies the evidence of the first edition. He says in effect that Milton was too fine an artist to write in the stilted measure that elision of anapestic feet would bring about, and he attempts to offset the evidence of the marked elisions in the first edition by saying that printers in the seventeenth century habitually and unwarrantably elided as their own notions prompted. Obviously, the evidence of Milton's own manuscript for the printer will settle the question.

In Book One of the printed first edition I have counted eighty-three examples of elision definitely expressed by omission of letters and use of apostrophes. Seventy-eight of these are found to be exactly the same in the manuscript. The extra five may have been elided by the printer through force of habit during a careless half-hour, especially since they appear almost in a group.

This establishes proof that Milton carefully elided some seventy-eight anapestic feet into iambs. There are, however, approximately an equal number of anapests in the first edition and in the manu-

¹ For identification see *Modern Philology*, 25 (1927-28), 313 ff.

² *History of English Prosody*, London, 1908, vol. II, Book vi, chapter 1.

script without elision expressed. These, we believe, were intended by Milton to be elided by the reader. Such unmarked elision constitutes one of the rules of Latin metrics, and Milton had written much Latin verse. Spenser and other Elizabethans left much of their evident elision unmarked. Moreover, there is internal evidence in Milton's manuscript that is stronger than mere supposition. A few of the best examples follow, showing to what extremes in distortion of accent Milton at times resorted in order to avoid the anapest. Line 682 of Book One apparently has an anapestic second foot:

The rich-/ es of Heav-/ en's pave-/ ment trod-/ den gold.

In the manuscript, however, the pleasing anapest is elided, and the reading is:

The rich-/ es of/ Heav'n's pave-/ ment trod-/ den gold.

Again in I, 282 an anapestic fourth foot is avoided by contracting "fallen."

No won-/ der fall'n/ such a/ per-ni/ cious height.

There is still greater strain in I, 202, which, as it now stands, would be read with a trisyllabic third foot:

Cre-at/ ed hug-/ est that swim/ the o-/ cean stream.

Milton took the trouble to avoid this anapest by eliding as shown:

Cre-at/ ed hug-/ est that/ swim th' o-/ cean stream.

There are two remarkable examples of what would be four-foot lines if anapestic feet were allowed at all. But of all licenses, the violation of the five-foot line in the formal epic was disallowed. Dramatic blank verse was more free. The following anapestic reading must be distorted into iambic:

On the firm/ brim-stone/ and fill/ all the plain (I, 350).

In the sweat/ of thy face/ shalt thou/ eat bread (X, 205).

Each of the lines immediately above shows crying need of anapestic feet. But, since Milton would not tolerate even these, and since he carefully expressed the elision in seventy-eight of the lines, we may assume that he intended none, and that all unmarked elisions are to be contracted when read.

M. L. HOWE

New Haven, Conn.

JEAN-BAPTISTE RACINE IN A NEW RÔLE

Among the records of the old seventeenth-century Latin plays performed by students in French schools, exists a play of 1689, *Marie Stuart, reine d'Ecosse*, "Tragédie qui sera représentée en vers latin et françois au college d'Harcourt pour la distribution des prix, le mercredi troisieme d'Aoust à midy."¹ There follow separate casts for the Latin and the French production, which, under the name of each historical character, give that of the boy who played the rôle. In the cast for the French play, under the character of Le Comte de Murray, villain of the plot, we find: "Jean-Baptiste Racine (de Paris)."

A note of explanation concerning the tragedy states that the subject, taken from Camden² and Florimond de Remont³ "est si connu de tout le monde qu'il seroit inutile d'en faire une longue explication." The agitated life of the Queen of Scots in France, Scotland, and England is briefly recounted; the play will give the story of her last hours.

Unfortunately, nothing of the Latin production remains and only a résumé of the French tragedy, but from the latter one gathers that the plot substantially followed Regnault's drama of the same name, which appeared fifty years previously. In the jealousy of the Tudor queen over the love of Norfolk and Mary, in the important rôle in English politics assigned to Mary's bastard brother, the ambitious Murray, in the death of Murray at the beginning of Act IV, and in Elizabeth's repentance after Mary's execution, one finds close resemblances to Regnault's tragedy. The adapter made only the changes necessary for a performance in a boys' school, introducing as many male characters as possible and reducing the feminine rôles to two, those of Mary and Elizabeth.

Born November 11, 1678, Jean-Baptiste Racine, only about ten and a half years old at the time of his participation in this performance, must have made a diverting villain. By one of life's

¹ A Paris, chez Jean de Laulne, rue de la Harpe, proche le college d'Harcourt, à l'Image S. Jean Baptiste, 1689.

² *The Historie of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth*. A French translation appeared in 1627.

³ *L'Histoire de la Naissance, Progrez et Decadence de l'heresie de ce siècle*, Paris, 1605.

Johns Hopkins University

In the edition of the *Estrella de Sevilla* published by the late Foulché-Delbosc attention was called to a curious mistake made by the author in locating the Apples of Hesperides in Colcos.

Commenting upon this error, Foulché-Delbosc advanced abundant reasons for doubting that Lope de Vega could have been guilty of such ignorance.

Marqués: Si á Colcos fuera
por las manzanas vanagloria de Argos
dulce imposible por ser bivos fuera. . . .²

This would indicate that Claramonte had a hand in the composition of scenes in the play other than those suggested by Menéndez y Pelayo³ (all those in which *Clarindo* figures).⁴

STURGIS E. LEAVITT

¹ *La Estrella de Sevilla*. Edition critique publiée par R. Foulché-Delbosc. Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, tome XLVIII. New York, Paris, 1920, lines 933-935.

^a MS. (Bibl. Nac., Madrid, 15048), fol. 14, *verso*.

³ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Acad., IX, xxxv-xxxvi.

⁴ An extensive study of Claramonte's participation in the play will be published shortly by the author of this article.

SOME ITALIAN SOURCES FOR MEY'S *FABULARIO*

Sabastián Mey's *Fabulario* was published at Valencia in 1613.¹ It contains fifty-seven *cuentos*, each followed by a moralizing couplet such as follows in the *exemplos* in *El Conde Lucanor*. In the Prologue Mey says, in speaking of the *Fabulario*: "... tiene muchas fábulas y cuentos nuevos, que no están en los otros (libros) y los que hay viejos, están aquí por diferente estilo."² That thirteen of the stories of the *Fabulario* have Italian sources has been already established.³ In addition to the relations now known, the following *cuentos* have their sources in Italian *novellistica*.

XXXII.

Los labradores codiciosos.

Luis Manchego arrives at an inn, wet to the bone, his teeth chattering. He asks the innkeeper to build him a fire. While he is trying to get warm some farmers come in and so crowd the fireplace that Luis gets little good from it. He remarks that he has lost ten *escudos* on the highway, about a league and a half away, and regrets that he has to wait until daylight to search for them. The greedy farmers leave, one by one; Luis enjoys the fire and avarice is punished.

This is a *facezia* attributed to Arlotto Mainardi and bears the title: *Il piovano da una mala notte a parecchi contadini*.⁴

XLIX.

El caballero leal a su señor.

The daughter of the Count de Armiñac falls in love with the Spaniard, Rodrigo Lopez, a favorite of her father's. She writes Rodrigo a letter offering him her love. The servant to whom the

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, "Orígenes de la Novela," II, xciv, *NBAE.*, Madrid, 1907.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, "Orígenes de la Novela," IV, *NBAE.*, Madrid, 1915.

³ Cf. Milton Buchanan's "Sebastián Mey's *Fabulario*," *MLN.*, June, 1906.

⁴ *Scelta di Facetie, Motti, Burle, et Buffonerie de Diversi*, Venetia, 1681, 20. This collection includes stories attributed to Mainardi, Gonella and Barlacchia. The first dated edition of the celebrated *piovano* seems to be that of 1515(?) Cf. Bartolomeo Gamba, *Delle novelle italiane in prosa*, Bibliografia di B. G. Bassanese, edizione seconda con correzioni ed aggiunte, Firenze, Tipografia all'Insegna di Dante, 1835, 48.

message is entrusted, fearing the consequences, takes it to the Count. The Count has the servant deliver the letter and bring him Rodrigo's reply. Rodrigo answers that he cannot even think of touching the honor of his benefactor and friend. The Count recognizes the Spaniard's loyalty by arranging the marriage.

Mey's story is taken directly from the 50th *novella* of Masuccio.⁵

Uno cavaliere Castigliano dal conte d'Armignaca favorito serve al re di Francia: diventa gran maestro, la figliola del Conte se ne innamora de lui, e la sua persona gli offre: el cavaliere per propria virtu refuta l'invito; el conte el sente e per gratitudine gli la da per mogliere; el Re il fa gran Signore divenire.

LIII.

La prueba de buen querer.

A man feigns death to test his wife's loyalty. Coming upon the "corpse" she decides to eat first and to mourn later. When her hunger is finally appeased she begins her lament. The husband then "comes to life" and bids her have a drink of wine to balance her meal.

This is No. 115 of Poggio's *Facezie*.⁶ It is also one of the *facezie* in *Scelta di Facezie, Motti, Burle et Buffonerie*.

LV.

El medico y su mujer.

A doctor of Toulouse marries a niece of the governor of the city and two months later is presented with a child. Dismissing her from his home, he explains to the uncle that he is not rich enough to take care of a child every two months.

This is the 49th *novella* of the *Novellino* (*Le Novelle Antiche*), wherein a doctor of Toulouse marries an Archbishop's niece. Mey,

⁵ *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano*, a cura di L. Settembrini, Naples 1874.

⁶ Poggio Fiorentino, Traduzione, introduzione e note di F. Cazzamini-Mussi, *Classici del Ridere*, Roma, Modena, 1927. The earliest editions of the *Liber Facetiarius* are three in number without date or place. First dated edition is that of 1470.

Regarding this *ouento* of the *Fabulario*, Hurtado y Palencia, *Historia de la Literatura Española* (1925), 547, names a "poesía" of Poggio as source. Although it occurs also in the *Scelta di Facetie, Motti, Burle et Buffonerie* (cf. above), in the section devoted to anonymous stories (186) it cannot be dated.

evidently wishing to avoid even the mention of a churchman, substitutes a governor for the Archbishop.⁷

LVI.

El combidado acudido.

A guest reproves his host for having given him very small fish by pretending to have a conversation with them and thus calling attention to their diminutive size. This is a *facezia* attributed to Barlacchia.⁸

D. P. ROTUNDA

Mills College

MIRA DE AMESCUA IN ITALY

In the *información de limpieza* which preceded Mira de Amescua's elevation to the dignity of Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Guadix (1631), the last witness declared as follows:

Es muy notorio en esta ciudad que cuando el dicho doctor don Antonio de Mira y Amescua pasó en el reyno de Nápoles con el Conde de Lemos, que fué Virrey de dicho reyno, estuvo a pique de ser obispo en Italia, y que tubo mucho tiempo el gobierno de un obispado de Italia, no se acuerda en qué ciudad, y que dió muy buena cuenta dél, y esto responde a esta pregunta.¹

These statements, the truth of which was questioned by Don Fructuoso Sanz, who published the documents, are confirmed by

⁷ Cf. *Le Novelle Antiche*, ed. Guido Biagi, in *Raccolta di opere inedite o rare di ogni secolo della letteratura italiana*, Firenze, 1880.

Hurtado y Palencia, *op. cit.*, 547, attributes this story to the collection of Sansovino. Although it is most likely that it came to Mey's attention through Sansovino's anthology, the primary source in Italian must be the anonymous *Novelle Antiche*.

⁸ *Scelta di Facetie, Motti, Burle et Buffonerie*, 140. Barlacchia was a contemporary of Arlotto Mainardi.

In addition to the preceding sources for the *Fabulario* the following analogues may be listed:

XVIII and LI, *Facezia*, No. 59, *Facezia*, Poggio Bracciolini (Fiorentino).

XLVIII, *Novella*, 59 (Gualteruzzi MS), *Le Cento Novelle Antiche*.

¹ Fructuoso Sanz, "El Doctor don Antonio Mira de Amescua. Nuevos datos para su biografía," in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, vol. I (1914), pp. 551-572.

evidence found in the registers of the *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè* in the Archivio di Stato at Naples.² Unfortunately our information is still incomplete: we do not know when Mira de Amescua assumed the stewardship of the Bishopric of Tropea, nor when he ceased to serve in that capacity.³ I can state with considerable confidence, however, that there is no further mention of him by name in the papers of the *Segreteria dei vicerè*.⁴ It

² Sr. Sanz expresses his doubts as follows: "Posesionado de su capellanía (in the Royal Chapel at Granada) el año 1610 . . . , y posesionado el mismo año en que el Conde de Lemos fué nombrado por Virrey de Nápoles, asalta la duda de si efectivamente acompañaría al Virrey en su expedición, como aseguran muchos y graves testimonios; y entiendo que bien pudo ser capellán y estar inscrito, como lo está, en los libros de puntuación coral de la Real Capilla, sin que pueda comprobarse la residencia material del Capellán . . . ; porque si obtuvo dispensa de residencia . . . bien puede constar su nombre como residenciado en Granada y estarlo realmente en el reino de Nápoles. Faltan, o no se han hallado, las actas capitulares de la Real Capilla correspondientes a los años 1608 a 1621, las cuales resolverían la duda y nos convencerían de lo que era notorio en Guadix y se tiene por cierto entre los historiadores de nuestra literatura, a saber: que el Conde de Lemos . . . se llevó . . . a Nápoles . . . a nuestro Mira de Amescua, el cual desempeñó al mismo tiempo oficios muy propios de su dignidad sacerdotal y de su virtud y letras." *Loc. cit.*, p. 563. Among the "graves testimonios" may be mentioned Cervantes, *Viage del Parnaso* (ed. Schevill and Bonilla, Madrid, 1922, p. 44), and Don Diego Duque de Estrada, *Comentarios del desengañado de sí mismo* (ed. Gayangos in *Memorial Histórico Español*), vol. XII. Madrid, 1860, p. 124.

³ It is probable that he returned to Spain with Lemos, as is stated by La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 256. The second document here given speaks of the *brevedad del tiempo*, and is dated June 11, 1616. On June 24 Lemos had already left for Spain. Archivio di Stato in Napoli, *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè, Tesoreria Generale*, vol. 4293, fol. 136.

⁴ It is impossible to tell whether or not the following document refers to Mira, since it precedes in date the first of the documents in which his name appears:

"Capellá (n) Mayor: El Conde mi señor dize que Vuestra Señoría informe sobre lo contenido en essa carta del ecónomo de Tropea, tocante a que si no se le da orden que venda el trigo de aquella mensa obispal, no podrá pagar las pensiones a Ottaviano Viestri ni a Don Francisco Patino, pues la cobrança de la renta en dinero no cae asta novienbre. Palacio a primero de Junio 1614." Arch. Sta. Nap., *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè, Diversorum*, vol. 1432, fol. 9.

Other documents might be found in the capitulary archives at Tropea and among the papers of the Regia Camera della Sommaria and of the

is therefore improbable that he served the Count of Lemos as secretary.⁵ The documents follow:

I.

Capellán Mayor: Su Excelencia dize que Vuestra Señoría informe de lo contenido en este memorial del Doctor Mira en que pide se le haga bueno el salario de Ecónomo de Tropea hasta que el Obispo tome la possession de aquel Obispado, sin embargo de la orden que se dió por Collateral⁶ para que no exercitase el economato. De Palacio 26 de Hebrero 1615.

Arch. Sta. Nap., *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè, Diversorum*, vol. 1432, fol. 56.

II.

Su Excelencia dize que del dinero que meterá en esa Thesoreria Marco Tomarquelo pague Vuestra Señoría al Doctor Mira de Mesqua sessanta y tres ducados que ha de hauer del salario de ecónomo de Tropea conforme a vna certificatoria de la Regia Cámara de la Sumaria despachada a siete deste mes, lo qual manda Su Excelencia que se exécuté no embargante que no se haya sacado libranza en virtud de la certificatoria, que respecto de la brevedad del tiempo se dispensa agora en esto, que después se sacarán los recados en forma y se darán a Vuestra Señoría para su cautela. Palacio a 11 de Junio 1616.

Arch. Sta. Nap., *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè, Tesoreria Generale*, vol. 4293, fol. 125.

OTIS H. GREEN

University of Pennsylvania

Cappellano Maggiore in the Archivio di Stato at Naples. Cf. *Degli Archivi Napoletani, Relazione a S. E. Il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione* per Francesco Trinchera, Napoli, Fibreno, 1872.

⁵ It is also doubtful that he belonged to the Accademia degli Oziosi, founded in 1611 under the auspices of the Viceroy. Don Diego Duque de Estrada (*op. cit.*, p. 124) says casually: "Había juntado el Conde-Virey una lucida Academia, habiendo traído consigo al singular, si desgraciado, ingenio de Francisco Ortigosa, al insigne rector de Villahermosa Leonardo Lupercio de Argensola (*sic*) . . . y al Doctor Mira de Mescua . . . ; al famoso Gabriel de Barrionuevo, a Lupercio Gabriel de Argensola (*sic*) . . . etc." But Mira de Amescua's name does not appear in the list of members compiled by Camillo Minieri Riccio (*Cenno storico delle Accademie fiorite nella città di Napoli*, Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico del Cav. F. Giannini, 1879), nor, to my knowledge, in any of the books or manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples dealing with the history of the Oziosi. The Academy admitted corresponding members not residing in Naples. Carlo Padiglione, *Le Leggi dell'Accademia degli Oziosi in Napoli, ritrovate nella Biblioteca Brancacciana* . . . , Napoli, 1878.

⁶ The Consejo Colateral.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spenser in Ireland. By PAULINE HENLEY. Dublin and Cork: Cork University Press; New York: Longmans, 1928. Pp. 231.

Spenser's 'Complaints.' Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. 273.

Spenser's 'Daphnaida' and Other Poems. Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. 243.

I.

Miss Henley has performed a much needed service in bringing together the rather scanty facts we have about Spenser's residence in Ireland and weaving them into a connected story. It is a disappointment that she has been able to add so little, for since the greater part of the poet's active life was spent in Ireland and his chief poetical work was produced there, the task of relating his work to his environment is one on which we should expect most illuminating treatment from an Irish scholar. To a certain extent we do get help. Miss Henley's maps are most interesting, her story is well-told, and she surpasses previous writers in conveying to us some sense of the conditions amid which Spenser lived and worked. Her book merits commendation, therefore, despite its failure to add new facts, and the doubtfulness of some of her interpretations.

Miss Henley's facts derive chiefly from the summary of investigation given in Dr. F. I. Carpenter's *Reference Guide*, but she has apparently made no use of the various short articles in which Dr. Carpenter and others have discussed these matters. Therefore we must still refer to the separate articles for interpretations and queries. She is apparently unaware, also, of the important recent contributions of F. F. Covington, notably his careful study of Spenser's use of Irish history contributed to *English Studies* of the University of Texas in 1924; her own chapter on the subject is quite unsatisfactory. She leans too heavily, throughout her book, on the essay by W. B. Yeats, who is an excellent poet and man of letters but assuredly not a Spenser scholar. And though she strives bravely to be fair, she is obsessed with the conception of Spenser as the "gentle" poet, and with Mr. Yeats's horror that so gentle a spirit should have been so "subservient" to British tyranny.

With the difficulty, which is a real one, of Spenser's relation to British policy in the treatment of Ireland in the sixteenth

century, I do not propose to meddle. The prejudice is by no means confined to Irish nationalists. Jusserand, for example, remarks: "The poet sang; the functionary spoke." But when Jusserand wrote, he represented the state of knowledge of an earlier generation. We know much more about Spenser now. We know, for example, that he was not merely a dreamer, a poets' poet, but a first-rate interpreter of Tudor policy and of Elizabethan life; we know, too, that his life in Ireland was by no means hateful exile. While Miss Henley herself recognizes this last point, fitfully, without making full use of her knowledge, she makes Spenser the creature of Grey. But the "policy" was not Grey's alone. It was Raleigh's, for example, as Edwards makes clear enough in his account of Raleigh's views, precisely like Spenser's. And it was Sir Henry Sidney's view in an earlier time and the view of Essex in a later time. The keynote to all the criticism, by these and other men who knew Ireland, was not that they believed in extermination but that they saw the immeasurable cruelty and folly of constant change: neglect and toleration followed by abuse and that in turn by frightfulness. Miss Henley's contrast between British sympathy for the Low Countries and cruelty toward Ireland is beside the point, for Spain, as the representative of Rome, was the adversary in both cases.

There is plenty of evidence of this, disproving Miss Henley's naive conception of Spain and Rome as mere bogeys. For example, Elizabeth's policy in 1580, urged by Burghley, was favorable to Spain. In 1581 she quarrelled with Mendoza about the Spanish expedition to Ireland, but in the same year soundly berated Walsingham about some trouble in Scotland, in the words: "You Puritan, you will never be content until you drive me into war on all sides, and bring the King of Spain on to me." Thus early the stage was set, prelude to the Armada. The Queen vacillated, fearing expense. Her instructions to Grey are characteristic; he was to be kind, to end the trouble at once, and to cut off expense. Even those who advised conciliatory tactics, like Thomas Lee in 1594, advised "royal war."

These are a few of many illustrations of the truth that Spenser, far from being merely subservient to Grey, really expressed the views held by all those who knew the situation at first hand. Of Spenser's real interest in the country, in its antiquities, Miss Henley gives some evidence. She might have given more, and she might have interpreted the matter more soundly. Thus, the tract was not published until 1633, and then by an antiquary, and chiefly because of its antiquarian interest. It is this aspect of the tract, not the military or political aspect, that is after all of most value to us today. Such a treatment would have prevented Miss Henley's assent to the preposterous assertion of Mr. Yeats that Spenser wrote "out of thoughts and emotions that had been

organized for him by the State, for he had begun to love and hate as it bid him."

Such misconception colors the entire narrative. Thus Miss Henley remarks (p. 76): "After a year and a half's dalliance, or more, at the Court of Gloriana, the Poet, having failed to secure any appointment, was forced to return to exile in Ireland." The sentence is quite misleading. That Spenser's visit to London cannot be described as "dalliance" is amply proved by what he says of the Court in *Colin Cloute*, by his activities there, and by the great creative impulse that swept over him. Moreover, it is by no means certain that he spent the entire period in England. Miss Henley does not seem to be aware of F. P. Wilson's evidence (*RES.*, II, 456-457, October, 1926) that Spenser was in Ireland in May of 1590; to which should be added the fact that both his troubles with Roche and the necessity for securing colonists for Kilcolman render it highly improbable that he remained so long away from home. Moreover, there is little evidence to support the old view, adopted by Jusserand and others, that he sought some "appointment" in London or on the continent in 1589-90. By this time he was thoroughly settled in Ireland and was improving his estate there. It is true that he represents Raleigh as finding fault with him for remaining so long in "that waste, where I was quite forgot." But this, after all, records a quite understandable mood. Spenser, spurred by Raleigh, went to London to print the first three books of his great poem, not for a cabinet position or a foreign embassy. By this same token, the idea that he "was forced to return to exile in Ireland" is too strong a term. "Exile" is the proper word to use in describing his feelings in the early 80's; it does not apply to this later period. Even for the earlier period, Miss Henley's interpretations are not confirmed by recent investigation. For example, she continually stresses the poet's fancied "subserviency" because of the rewards he received. But the earlier "rewards" were of doubtful value. She does not mention, for example, the fact pointed out by Covington (*MP.*, XXII, 63 ff.), that Spenser held Newland but for a short time, so that at least one of the "rewards" is reduced to "tantalizing nothingness."

Thus, although Miss Henley collects most of the facts unearthed by recent investigation, she misses some of the most important, she is not aware of the problems these facts present, and her interpretation is based upon outworn ideas which these facts largely controvert. It is the traditional note of exile, of subserviency, of the Jekyll-Hyde contrast between the "gentle" poet and the government functionary that she presents.

Moreover, it is in precisely the field in which we should expect to find competent guidance from an Irish scholar that Miss Henley's book is least satisfactory. The Celtic elements in

Spenser's poetry, the possible influence of Irish lore upon him, his acquaintance with "the antiquities of (Irish) fairy land," are subjects that need further investigation. But Miss Henley does not even make full use of the antiquarian element in the *View*, let alone the more delicate appraisals necessary to the study of the Celtic strain in his poetry. She follows wrong leads in her interpretation of Britomart and Florimel; she misses the Celtic strain in the story of Guyon although she points out some resemblances between the close of the second book and the *imrama*; her etymologies are dubious, and despite some pleasant sections about the influence of Irish scenery on the *Faerie Queene* she drifts back into her echoes of Mr. Yeats, who finds it a pity that Spenser did not come to Ireland, a land like that of Theocritus and Virgil, filled with shepherds and shepherdesses, merely as a "gentle" poet. She sees in his appointment as sheriff of Cork another "reward" for subserviency, and, while rejecting the story that he died "for want of bread," expresses the opinion that there would have been poetic justice in such a retribution.

II.

Readers of Professor Renwick's fine book on Spenser, published five years ago, turn to the first two volumes of his edition of the poet's works with high anticipation, and these hopes are fully justified. These first volumes deal with the minor poems, many of which have not previously been adequately annotated. Mr. Renwick's commentary, like his book of general criticism, is fully aware of even recent Spenser investigation, and he uses this material, in the main, fairly, independently, and in such a way as to weave it into a stimulating interpretation of the poems. Furthermore, he has supplied new notes of great value, has carried over into the pedestrian business of annotation something of the distinction of style that marks his critical essays, and has supplied, in this volume as in his earlier book, a sensible and inspiring interpretation of the relation between a poet's use of sources and his art. The three books, therefore, supply a theory and practice of annotation that may well be studied for values quite apart from the light they throw on Spenser. The irritation with scholiasts displayed by W. G. Rutherford in his *Chapter in the History of Annotation*, and shared by all of us, does not apply to commentaries such as these. Spenser will not pester Mr. Renwick with malicious suggestion of the folly of going "to the lackey for what the master will tell you at first hand."

Where so many topics invite discussion, somewhat arbitrary selection must be made. I shall not consider here the question of text, further than to express satisfaction that in the second volume Mr. Renwick has been more conservative than in the first. There

are a few inaccuracies in the commentary, notably the reference to the 1591 *Calender* as the third edition, not the fourth. The format of the volumes lacks distinction: the covers warp badly and are unattractive in color, and the binding will not withstand the usage to which the books will be put. Mr. Renwick makes no attempt to apply tests of style to the problem of dating the poems; he is content with such evidence from other sources as he can get. While it is true that it is much more difficult to apply tests of rime, meter, and diction, or the test of evolution of style and thought, to Spenser than to most writers who have left a comparable body of verse, yet some things are possible, especially if such tests are used as cautiously as Mr. Renwick would use them if he cared to go into the matter.

Despite his avoidance of style tests, Mr. Renwick summarizes the evidence regarding the publication of *Complaints* and the date of composition of the chief poems in the volume in a way that is in the main satisfactory. He deals powerful blows against the idea that Spenser was "obsessed with Burghley," holding that the obsession is a freak of scholarship, not the poet's. His thesis that Spenser probably collaborated with Ponsonby seems substantiated. Such a supposition is natural enough, for Spenser was in England, flushed with victory. Furthermore, the poems thus collected with difficulty, as Ponsonby says, have a singular unity; if a publisher were merely in search of early work by a popular author we should not expect such unity. Finally, the arrangement, as Mr. Renwick shows, is artful, proving the author's hand.

The whole difficulty, it seems to me, has arisen over the interpretation of Ponsonby's words, "imbeziled and purloined . . . since his departure over sea." The words indicate some stronger feeling than mere loss or misplacement. I do not know what lies back of this feeling. But the time reference is, I think, quite clear. Mr. de Sélincourt misinterprets the passage as referring to Ponsonby's effort to get Spenser MSS after the poet had returned from his visit to London 1589-90 (*Minor Poems*, xvii), says that Spenser had no time to correct proofs, and maintains that "departure" does not refer to 1580. But surely the expression does refer to 1580. The true explanation is that the success of the *Faerie Queene* led Ponsonby and the poet to project another volume. For this, Spenser wanted not merely MSS of such work as he had written prior to the summer of 1580 and of which he had no copies, but also poems showing "like manner of argument." His difficulties were such that he used the words "imbeziled and purloined." A group, however, was collected; some changes in old MSS were made, for example, in *MHT*; some new work was added, for example *RT*; all the poems contained "like matter of argument." The book was entered Dec. 29, 1590, when Spenser was pretty certainly in London, since *Daphnida* was dated Lon-

don, January 1, 1591. During the period of collection, or before it was undertaken, Spenser seems to have made a short trip back to Kilcolman (F. P. Wilson, *RES*, Oct., 1926), but he was in London again by the end of the year.

This, except the references to de Sélincourt and Wilson, is in Renwick. There remains the question of "like manner of argument," and the Burghley "obsession." I agree with Mr. Renwick that Spenser was too big a man, and his position after the publication of the 1590 *Faerie Queene* was too assured, to admit that he deliberately gathered a volume of poems old and new to gratify a petty spite. I would add my emphatic disbelief, already indicated in what I have said of Miss Henley's book, in the idea that he returned to Ireland as to exile, angered by his failure to get an appointment in London. There is nothing in this position that prevents acceptance of Mr. Renwick's admirable sentences to the effect that Spenser would no doubt have welcomed a chance to live in England. England was home, was *alma mater*, and his feeling must have been that of many an alumnus of a university, teaching in a provincial college, who re-visits the great institution which even in "exile" is the center of his intellectual inspiration and the basis of his romantic dreams. But this is very different from M. Jusserand's extraordinary comment on *Colin Clout* as the angry cry of a bitterly disappointed man. Spenser's disappointment was deeper. His "complaints," here and elsewhere, are not personal so much as they are a part of the general disillusion that was creeping over England in the years following the Armada and which we find, in one phase, in Donne, and, in another, in Shakespeare's early seventeenth century plays; a disillusion revealed, too, in a thousand other ways in the literature and life of the time.

Mr. Renwick, then, adopting some such interpretation, shows us the young academic complaint of *TM*, which he rightly dates ca. 1580, and the young intellectual satire of the early form of *MHT*, revamped, as I believe, for a crisis in 1579-80, and again revised for *Complaints* a decade later. These things Spenser retains for his new volume. He also writes, for example, *RT*, instinct with the sense that the old group had gone, the old issues and their protagonists, a new and unfamiliar England presenting itself to the poet. He might have added that those first years in Ireland had driven all thought of his early poems from Spenser's mind, that he worked fitfully on the *Faerie Queene*, presenting in the first three books his conception of the England he had known before his exile; that momentarily, as in meetings such as Bryskett describes, he returned from business to poetry and philosophy; that the dynamic force of Raleigh's personality, reviving old ideals of the man of action who was also a man of letters, operated to send him back to *alma mater* where he published, was welcomed, became

"the new poet," collected long forgotten MSS "imbeziled and purloined" by men to whom these youthful dreams had been submitted but who had not written him or urged publication, but on the contrary had thrown them away, or lost them.

Seen thus, *Complaints* becomes a document of first rate importance in the history of Spenser's mind. The book is not merely an attempt to trade in momentary popularity. It reflects the old academic dissatisfaction with the world first met by the young idealist. It reflects the impact of an altered England upon a man long out of touch. It leads straight to the interpretation of *Faerie Queene* IV-VI on which, filled with new creative fire, he began to work as soon as he returned to Ireland.

With all this in mind, let us approach the Burghley matter. Mr. Renwick does not notice the defiance to Burghley in the proem to the fourth *Faerie Queene*, or its bearing on the whole question, or, specifically, on the *Hymnes*. Spenser was not "obsessed" with Burghley. Rather he wrote, to apply Gilbert Murray's account of the genesis of the *Trojan Women*, "under the influence" of the new time. He is not thinking, either in the separate poems of *Complaints* or in the "like matter of argument" that ties them together, of Burghley alone. He is thinking of the sort of thing that he treats with devastating satire in *Colin Clout*. Burghley is one aspect of this philistinism. On the other hand is gallantry, the "love me, love my dear." There is the refusal or inability of the Burghley type of mind, in all ages, to understand love's mystery.

Let me turn, now, to Mr. Renwick's handling of the four hymns. He reacts justly, here as elsewhere in his commentary, against excessive and pedantic source study. But it seems to me that he falls into the error of postulating Spenser's complete repudiation of the first two of the hymns, which leads to a quite unjustifiable view. He seems to take quite literally the dedicatory letter. He may be right, but I do not see why we should not apply here what he has so well taught us in the interpretation of the Ponsonby letter; dedicatory letters are not to be taken too literally. Literal interpretation, here, brings us face to face with the necessity of explaining why a poet sincerely regretful of his earlier love poems and determined to correct his error by more godly poetry, should nevertheless publish for the first time the pagan and the godly in the same volume. Surely it was not to illustrate the extent of his reformation. And let us keep in mind, always, his rebuke to Burghley's puritanism in the proem of the fourth *Faerie Queene*.

The fact of the matter is that the opening lines of the third hymn are inserted, in harmony with the dedicatory letter, and in harmony with similar expressions elsewhere (in the *Calender*, for an early example). Moreover, Mr. Renwick does not grapple with some quite obvious problems presented by the dedication. It must

be noted that this dedication is expressly stated to be of *the last two hymns only*: "in stead of those two Hymnes . . . two others . . . the which I doe dedicate." That is, from this letter we should expect the publication of only the last two hymns, not of the four. Why he changed this evident purpose I do not know. The blame cannot be placed on the publisher, for, as de Sélincourt has pointed out, the text of the four poems is excellent, a fact to be accounted for by the personal supervision given by the poet. Nor can we accept Legouis' explanation that he published the last two as an antidote: "Il conservait le poison mais mettait l'antidote à côté." Legouis and Renwick are at one in feeling that Spenser's conversion, if there was a conversion, must have been sudden, the former because *Faerie Queene* IV-VI shows no repentance for his love poetry, but gives new examples sufficiently pagan, and the latter because of "difficulty and confusion," no proper motivation for Sapience, an experience "isolated and in so far suspect" for which there is "no hint in Spenser's other poems."

But there is "hint" elsewhere in Spenser's work of his late period, in the last two stanzas of *Mutabilitie*, for example, which express longing for a vision of God, with an undertone that links the poem indissolubly with the matter of the last two hymns. For in *Mutabilitie* we have the cosmic view, parallel to the last hymn; the suggestion that earthly wisdom cannot solve the mystery of time and change; the true Sapience is with God, to be attained only as a mystic vision.

I have no space to elaborate this view here. I cannot agree with Mr. Renwick's view of the last two hymns as confused and uncertain, filled with merely literary sources, making fresh starts because of the inability of the poet to think the matter through. For if we forget the dedication and the opening lines of the third hymn the four poems form a closely knit sequence; closely knit, at least, as the speeches in the *Symposium*. Mr. Renwick, strangely enough, appears for once to have been led astray by too great dependence on source hunters, in this case Miss Winstanley. The fact is, that while there are vestiges of literary Platonism in the last two hymns, the underlying philosophy is quite other. The new element is Christian mystical theory, such, for example, as is familiar to English readers in the works of Richard Rolle. The third hymn is not, as Mr. Renwick holds, a Christian "parallel" without the "ladder" of Platonism. Its theme is the "illumination" that comes, as the Christian mystics held, from contemplation of the life and passion of Christ. In the last hymn there are rich suggestions of Dante. The method, as Spenser repeatedly insists, is "contemplation"; the structure is cosmic; the vision to be attained is that love which interprets the universe: "L'Amor che muove il sole e l'altre stelle."

Taken as a whole, therefore, there is unity. The first hymns are imperfect, earthly, like the speeches of Phaedrus, Pausanias, and Agathon; for the speech of Socrates he substitutes what is equally characteristic of his method, the method of the Christian mystics: contemplation of Christ's Passion; contrition; contemplation of the cosmic order; the Vision of God. All is set over against the intellectual, more materialistic cosmic vision of *Mutabilitie*, which leads to a conclusion not satisfying to the soul; the hymns are an answer to the cry of the soul that is found in the two stanzas of "the viii. canto, unperfite" with which the *Faerie Queene* dies away. Both are climaxes of Spenser's most mature thought, not sudden conversion, not "suspect," but in perfect keeping with all that we know of the man.

EDWIN GREENLAW

Les Sonnets élisabéthains: les Sources et l'Apport personnel. By JANET G. SCOTT. Vol. 60 of the Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée. Librairie Champion, Paris, 1929. Pp. 343.

This is an excellent book—well-informed, prudent, sympathetic, just, the best guide thus far devised among the pitfalls of this adventurous subject. The author has taken more trouble than any other writer to comprehend the whole matter—"Voulant vérifier des points douteux, j'ai parcouru presque toute la littérature pétrarquiste des trois pays, Italie, France, et Angleterre, et je n'ai pas négligé la poésie néo-latine." She has had an eye also to the Ancients, especially the Latin erotic poets, the pseudo-Anacreontics, and the Greek Anthology.

In design the book is a series of chapters, usually a chapter to a sonneteer—Sidney, Greville, Watson, Barnes, Lodge, Giles Fletcher, Daniel, Constable, Drayton, Spenser, Shakespeare, Drummond. There are also chapters on "Poètes Secondaires" and "Sonnets Dispersés." Appended is a bibliographical list of all important early editions of Italian, French, and English "Petrarchists," and a list, most useful, by authors, of imitative Elizabethan sonnets, with an indication in each instance of such sources as careful consideration can admit.

Miss Scott's inclusive view has enabled her to correct many partial observations of her predecessors—Lee, Koepfel, Wolff, Kastner, and others. Quite sensibly, for example, she touches the vexed question of a given poet's sincerity, which is not necessarily impugned, as some have thought, by his use of the many conventional devices of form, style, imagery, by adaptation or even translation from foreign originals. Especially in masters like Sidney and Spenser, where both biographical evidence and artistic

originality are for it, "il nous semble raisonnable de croire à la sincérité du poète."

Each chapter on a single poet resumes in order the biographical aspect of his sonnets, their sources, their part and place in the traditions of the sonnet, their style and poetic value. In the matters of sources and tradition the book is most informing. Miss Scott has observed many sources hitherto unnoticed.

Among favorite devices of the sonneteers is what may be called the inventoried description of the lady's features—lips, cheeks, hair, eyes, neck, etc., enumerated and praised with oriental excess. Miss Scott records instances in Watson, Sidney, and others. It is "un sujet favori de la Renaissance," by no means confined to the sonnets—e. g. Spenser's *Epithalamion*, st. 10 (see van Winkle's notes), Lodge's *Scilla's Metamorphosis*, and many others. The device, found among the Italians, obviously springs from the Song of Songs, chap. 4, which Miss Scott fails to note. In fact her wealth of material cannot but make a reader regret that she has generally ignored Biblical and Apocryphal origins of imagery in the sonnets. One infers also that, had she been a better Platonist or neo-Platonist, she would more easily have recognized and measured the real extent of this element in the sonnets. In fact she is too inclined, as I think, to minimize it: she mentions only the *Phaedrus*. She points out the recurrent idea of "procreation" in the sonnets, of the "cruel she" that will "lead her graces to the grave and leave the world no copy," but does not observe that it is an idea no doubt nourished and sustained by Socrates' speech in the *Symposium*.

In the difficult matter of Shakespeare Miss Scott is wisely conservative. She is reasonably sure of his acquaintance with the *Arcadia*, and with "des poésies des sonnettistes qui le précédaient"; from these he learned all the themes and devices, Petrarchist and anti-Petrarchist; but in special cases, as of Lily "il ne sert à rien de pousser trop loin le rapprochement . . . Nulle part cependant il n'y a la moindre trace de plagiat." Which is, perhaps, an obvious conclusion for any but such as lose their balance in too exclusive preoccupation with the "mystery" of Shakespearian sonnets.

Miss Scott's book may be commended as indispensable to the advanced student of Elizabethan poetry.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

Princeton University

Marlowe and his Circle. A Biographical Survey. By FREDERICK S. BOAS. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. 159.

When in 1925 Professor Hotson published the results of the most brilliant piece of record research in many a year, he started

numerous discussions and investigations. Dr. Boas attempts in *Marlowe and his Circle* to survey and interpret these new pieces of information in the light of the old. But he records that Miss Seaton's valuable article appeared in July, 1929, as his book went to press; and he has missed Professor Austin K. Gray's important article, and Dr. Tannenbaum's book, both published in 1928.

Dr. Boas marshals the evidence in sane and eminently judicial fashion to find that the main conclusions of Professor Hotson have not been shaken, but even much strengthened by the after-discovered evidence. He hesitatingly suggests, however, a different reason for the academic frown of Cambridge, which Professor Gray independently had already given some evidence for stating boldly. In the eighties, the phrase "gone beyond the seas to Reames and there to remain" had a definite and indisputable meaning, as anyone who will take the trouble to study the life-records of "Catholic Martyrs" will learn. Marlowe was unquestionably suspected by the Cambridge authorities of having entered, or of having intended to enter the English College at Rheims to become a seminary priest.

Dr. Boas is to be commended for espousing with Professor Hotson the unpopular verdict of the coroner's inquest. Indeed, if we cannot accept the verdict of a properly constituted judicial body, what can we accept? The now popular theory that Ingram Frizer killed Christopher Marlowe "for the good of the (secret) service" has no single definite fact, nor any known motive on which to rest. There was no secret service in the sense implied; only Poley is known to have had any length of connection with secret service affairs; Marlowe was probably on one mission in 1587; neither Ingram nor Skeres is known before or after ever to have been connected in any way with secret service. The only known bond between Marlowe and Ingram is that of a common master and patron; the only alleged bond between Marlowe and Poley is that they were would-be fellow coiners, and probably former fellow tenants of Newgate; Skeres had been something of a jackal for Poley as early as 1586. Known associations account for the group in 1593, and justify the alleged holiday nature of its gathering. As to allegations that Frizer's story rings false, it did not ring false to the sixteen men who examined it narrowly upon oath, and who must have been individually and collectively far better judges intuitively of its probability than any one now can possibly even by much study be. Nor is there a single known fact to indicate that these sixteen men were or could be corrupted.

Perhaps, after all, the difficulty is that we do not wish to accept a brawling Marlowe as our beloved poet; but after Dr. Boas's masterly summary, the conclusion is unavoidable that Marlowe was, at least, temperamentally an aggravator, with an immoderate desire to shock. Though this was an outstanding characteristic,

yet it cannot have been the whole. So far we have but one of Marlowe's circles, and that the one in which he conjured devils. There are signs unmistakable that he had also other circles more nearly celestial.

T. W. BALDWIN

University of Illinois

A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642.
By EDWIN NUNGEZER. Yale University Press (Cornell Studies in English, XIII), 1929. Pp. vi + 438. \$5.00.

Mr. Nungezer states that he has "attempted to assemble all the available information regarding actors, theatrical proprietors, stage attendants, and other persons known to have been associated with the representation of plays in England before the year 1642." He has not attempted to unearth new material, only "to collect and organize all the discovered facts."

For the period before 1616, of course, much of this work had been done by Sir Edmund Chambers and published in his valuable chapter on the actors in the second volume of *The Elizabethan Stage*. Mr. Nungezer has been able to add to this, notably by including the results of the research of Harold N. Hillebrand in connection with the child actors and by expanding the discussion of major figures like Tarleton, the Burbages, and Edward Alleyn. On the other hand, there are gaps in the information which Mr. Nungezer gives. Apparently he has not seen Sir Edmund Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage Gleanings*,¹ as he makes no mention of the new actors and new material presented there. Some of his accounts are incomplete. To indicate a few at random: The discussion of William Birde gives only a blanket reference to many of the facts. It makes no mention of Birde's letters to Henslowe in 1599² or to Edward Alleyn, c. 1617(?),³ or of his legacy in the will of Thomas Towne;⁴ there is no mention of the letters of Sir Thomas Parry concerning Browne, "an English Comedian";⁵ the account of Christopher Beeston omits his hiring of the Cockpit from John Best in 1616,⁶ as well as several events in his career after 1616. But perhaps this is ungrateful. Mr.

¹ *RES.*, I (1925), 75-78, 182-186.

² W. W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 347.

⁵ Frances A. Yates, *RES.*, I (1925), 402.

⁶ Leslie Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 1928, pp. 89, 90, 98.

Nungezer has made easily accessible much information that was not included or was only summarized in Chambers.

In the account of actors after 1616, the omissions are more serious. I find in my notes at least sixty actors and persons of theatrical interest whom Mr. Nungezer does not mention at all. Apparently he has not seen Dr. Boas's valuable article, "Crossfield's Diary and the Caroline Stage."⁷ Though Baldwin's *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* is mentioned in the bibliography, I find in the text no use at all of Professor Baldwin's elaborate analyses of the rôles of the King's men. Hotson's *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* is used most erratically. The important discovery of Christopher Beeston's will—printed in that book⁸—is not mentioned. Numerous occurrences in Beeston's career are omitted, apparently for the sake of compression, but in such a book as this, the conclusion that Beeston "managed . . . Queen Henrietta's men (1625-37)"⁹ is not so important as the facts which establish it. Though Hotson's discoveries about Andrew Cane's Commonwealth activities are mentioned,¹⁰ there is no reference to Cane's signature to the bond to Gunnell to continue playing at the Fortune in 1624.¹¹ Indeed, Mr. Nungezer says, "Of Cane between 1622 and 1631 nothing is known."¹² The mass of information from the provincial records in Murray's *English Dramatic Companies* has been only partially used. Several actors mentioned in these records are not included at all—for instance: Robert Taylor,¹³ John Costine,¹⁴ James Crauford,¹⁵ George Hall,¹⁶ Robert Marcham,¹⁷ Thomas Maskell¹⁸ and John Mountsett.¹⁹

There are a few slips in dates, for instance: the pageant in honor of the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales was 31 May 1610, not 1618, as given on page 70; under John Allingham and William Soyles (really the names are Allington and Styles, but this is Mrs. Stopes's mistake, which Nungezer has copied) and the other nine servants of the King's men granted a ticket of privilege 12 January 1636/37, he gives the date as 1636, instead of changing to the new style calendar as elsewhere.

⁷ *Fortnightly Review*, OXXIII (April, 1925), 514-24.

⁸ Pp. 398-400.

⁹ P. 37.

¹⁰ Pp. 84-5.

¹¹ Hotson, pp. 52-4.

¹² P. 82.

¹³ Murray, II, 253; apparently not the Robert Tailor of the Admiral's men.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 331.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 247-248.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 253, 359.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 374 and note.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 358, 331.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 359.

But with such a multiplicity of details, complete accuracy is almost impossible and the slips do not seem to be numerous.

On the whole, I have the impression that the discussion of the actors before 1616, though exhibiting annoying omissions, is a helpful addition to the information given in Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*. For a dictionary of actors after 1616, we should be grateful, but Mr. Nungezer does not seem to have been notably successful in his attempt "to gather all the available information."

GERALD EADES BENTLEY

University of Chicago

The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Selection and a Study. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. London: The Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. 180.

With this carefully-chosen anthology, intelligently and sympathetically introduced, and adequately annotated, the poetry of Wyatt bids fair to receive its just recognition. *Tottell's Miscellany*, with its inclusion of much of Wyatt's earlier verse and its exclusion of his more individual and finished poetry, and Puttenham's well-intentioned but misleading dictum that Wyatt's chief service was to introduce foreign models into English verse, have succeeded in robbing Wyatt of his dues for nearly four centuries. He was, as Professor Tillyard so well shows, a man of robust intellect and of penetrating, if not associative, imagination, and his better poetry is intensely dramatic, highly individual, and passionate. Moreover his technique is at times quite beyond praise, and shows a masterly command of tone effects, of tempo, and of rhythm.

In a single respect only does one feel inclined to differ with Professor Tillyard. He follows Saintsbury in the conclusion that the iambic line as employed by Hawes and Barclay was built on no unifying pattern, and that "the only way to read these people's verses is to gobble them breathlessly with the hopeful intention of lighting on four main accents a line." Consequently, Professor Tillyard concludes, "the existence of such writing must have made him [Wyatt] initially less critical and more tolerant of harshness. The opening of this sonnet, for instance, is hopelessly rough:

Each man me telleth I change most my devise:
And on my faith, me think it goode reason,
To change propose like after the season;
For in every case, to keep still one guise
Is meet for them that would be taken wise."

As I have attempted to show elsewhere ("The Scansion of Wyatt's Early Sonnets," *Studies in Philology*, xx, 137-152), Hawes and

Barclay did have a unifying pattern, and seldom used a line of four, as opposed to five, accents. Their verse is not unrhythmical, when properly read, and Wyatt, as an inheritor of their technique, followed a recognized pattern in the above lines. He accented them as follows, and the reader may decide for himself whether or not they are "hopelessly rough":

Eăch mán mē tēlleth Ī chānge mōst mý dēvisē;
 Ānd ōn mý faĭth, mē thĭnk ĭt gōod reāson,
 Tō chānge prōpōse lĭke āfter thē seāson;
 Fōr ĭn evēry cāse, tō keep stĭll ōnē guĭse
 Īs mēet fōr thēm thāt wōuld bē taken wĭse.

There is no impropriety in slurring the syllables in *telleth*, and Wyatt indicates such slurrings in his own manuscript versions. A hovering accent on words of Romance origin is both legitimate and musical, and the occasional use of a monosyllabic foot where a word calls for special emphasis—*most* and *still*—is commended elsewhere by Professor Tillyard himself. This whole question is one hardly to be argued in a review, but it was responsible for the almost complete exclusion of the sonnets from the anthology, and some of them, such as "If waker care; if sodayne pale coulour," and "You that in love finde lucke and habundance," are decidedly colorful.

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD

University of Washington

Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae. Translated by JOHN WALTON. Edited by MARK SCIENCE. E. E. T. S., No. 170 (for 1927). Pp. lxvii + 379.

This edition uses collations of sixteen manuscripts and the printed edition (1525). The Introduction describes the nineteen known manuscripts, analyses their inter-relationships, and discusses date, authorship, method of translation, language and versification. The study is sound in method, clearly presented, and concise; it brings out many significant points. As the filiation of versions indicates two main groups, a "critical text" is impossible. Consequently the editor prints one version, with rather frequent emendations (a number of which are open to question), and variant readings.

It is always difficult to explain the relationships of manuscript versions in such a way as to make the facts clear to readers unfamiliar with the manuscripts. In general Dr. Science has

succeeded in this task, but perhaps at times his exposition does not do justice to his method. In particular he fails to give the evidence on which he places β' where he does. According to his diagram, β' , a hypothetical version, is one of two main divisions of B' , and has, itself, no descendants. Its sole function is to serve as a source of corrections for an extant version, Bb . Probably the corrections in Bb show none of the peculiarities of the A group, but how does Dr. Science know that β' is not immediately descended from B ? In fact he gives hardly any discussion of β' . In the main, the editor bases his study of relationship on "variant readings"; yet he knows that only erroneous readings have significance (see his excellent statement of this principle on p. xxxii). Though it is probable that his use of "variant readings" has not led him into errors, one wonders why he emphasizes them as he does.

Again Dr. Science's choice of his basic text seems illogical on the basis of the data he offers the reader. If group A does not afford as good a text as group B , why did he not use N or C if they are "nearer to the original source than b' and β' ?" Instead he used L which is copied from Bb , a version derived from b' with corrections from β' . If he must use a version of the b' group, why did he not use Bb , which he believes to be the source of L ? Yet, in spite of slight inconsistencies, Dr. Science's work is an important and valuable addition to the publications of the E. E. T. S.

J. R. HULBERT

The University of Chicago

Ancient Emigrants, A History of the Norse Settlements of Scotland. By A. W. BRØGGER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. xii + 208.

Professor Brøgger's volume is based upon a series of lectures, on the Rhind Foundation, which he gave in Edinburgh in the fall of 1928. The book begins with an account of the Norwegian colonization of the Shetlands and Orkneys, which the author compares, not without point, to the outflow of Norwegians to America in the nineteenth century. He makes it clear that the settlements in the Shetlands and Orkneys were not so much the result of Viking raids as of a migration of the Norwegian peasantry, in search of more land to till. The wave of migration went beyond to the Hebrides and to the Scottish mainland, but only in the Shetlands and Orkneys themselves did the conquest produce a homogeneous Scandinavian civilization. The author looks into the history of these regions in pre-Norse times, and finds that

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climatic changes and other factors (not all of which are known to us) had brought about a decline of the Celtic civilization which previously had flourished there, and he thinks that in the Shetlands and Orkneys at least the Celtic population had become so thin and so enfeebled by the eighth century that the Norwegian settlers met with no serious opposition. By a study of place-names he now tries to find out from what parts of Norway the settlers came; his results confirm the results earlier reached by J. Jakobsen on the basis of the Norwegian words surviving in the dialect of the Shetlands. Another chapter is devoted to the rather scanty archaeological finds; the author thinks that a systematic and thorough excavation of the sites would yield a great deal of material bearing on the Norse occupation. The last two chapters take up the political and ecclesiastical history of the Norse colonies, down to their cession to Scotland.

Mr. Brøgger's book makes interesting reading, and brings out many points of value to the student of medieval civilization. It is however by no means an exhaustive treatise on its subject. One must describe it, rather, as a semi-popular work, meant chiefly for the layman. As such, it meets a real need, and can be recommended to all who are in want of authoritative sketches in a field little known to most of us. The work is well printed and well illustrated, though a large-scale map would have been of great help to the reader. The translation was done by "Mr. Crane of the British Legation in Oslo," whose English is not always up to the mark (see p. 15). No doubt Mr. Crane is to blame for "philological" (i. e. etymological) on p. 32, for "old Erse" (i. e. Old Irish) on p. 50, and for "soundless" (i. e. surd or voiceless) on p. 70. The author himself, though, must be held responsible for the statement (p. 43) that Scotch *broch* is a "corrupt" form of ON. *borg*.

KEMP MALONE

A Concordance to the "Historia Ecclesiastica" of Bede. By PUTNAM FENNEL JONES. Pp. x + 585. Published for the Concordance Society by the Mediaeval Academy of America. Cambridge, Mass., 1929. \$6.50.

The late Albert S. Cook did much for American scholarship in all sorts of ways, but among his more important contributions must be reckoned the work which he and his students have done in the field of concordance-making. Cook was never weary of pointing out the fundamental importance of the concordance in philological and linguistic scholarship, and he practiced what he preached by making concordances himself. More important still, he trained up a group of notable scholars who carried on the good work. Thanks

largely to Cook and his men, we have today a respectable body of these indispensable tools (although concordances are still far too few). Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell, one of Cook's most distinguished pupils, has himself long been a leader in this vitally important field. And, as we learn from the "Preface" of the work under review, Mr. Cooper suggested to the author that he undertake making a concordance of Bede's *History*, and helped him with the task at every stage. Professor Jones is to be congratulated on his mentor, and on his own wisdom in following so excellent a guide. The four years of hard work which he has put in on his arduous task now have their reward. The volume which he has produced will be a godsend to medievalists, and will be reckoned an indispensable part of their armory of books. We are deeply in his debt, and are correspondingly grateful.

The volume itself is well printed, on paper of good quality. I have noted too many instances of bad letters—sometimes overinked but more usually not inked enough, or even defective. As the author points out, his concordance serves also as an *index rerum*, by virtue of its form. The proper names are in each case identified. All forms of a given word are listed under the so-called dictionary form, which is printed in capital letters. Under this the forms which actually occur appear as subheads, arranged alphabetically and printed in bold-face type. This procedure sometimes involves printing the same form twice: first in capitals and then in small letters. It often involves printing in capitals a form which does not occur in Bede. Nevertheless, the method has obvious advantages, and is to be commended.

KEMP MALONE

Early German Romanticism. Its Founders and Heinrich von Kleist. By WALTER SILZ. Harvard University Press, 1929. x + 264 pp.

The aims of this admirable study are clearly set forth in the foreword: no final delineation of either Heinrich von Kleist or German Romanticism is to be attempted, but certain significant relationships between a very complex individual and a very complex literary movement are to be pointed out. The treatise represents the conviction that, in spite of the lack of immediate contacts with the originators of the Romantic movement, Kleist has an undeniable kinship with them, and that he succeeded far better than they in embodying their common ideals in poetic production.

A searching investigation of Heinrich von Kleist's much-disputed relation to the Romantic movement is, indeed, to be welcomed. Ernst Kayka's monograph *Kleist und die Romantik* (Berlin, 1906) was written with the aim of freeing the dramatist from the charge

of belonging to a school of alleged morbid tendencies. Numerous other brief attempts to classify Kleist have been rather incidental, more or less casual, inadequate and highly contradictory. Outstanding Kleist-scholars have disagreed on his relation to the literary movements of his time. For he has been pronounced a classicist, an out-and-out romanticist, a romanticist subject to various reservations, and a psychological realist. His originality, individuality and complexity transcend any one literary movement and consequently render exact classification impossible. By setting forth Kleist's kinship with certain phases of early German Romanticism, rather than endeavoring to place him in a definite category, the author has wisely avoided pitfalls.

The study shares a growing tendency to stress the points of contact between Classicism and early Romanticism, makes sharp distinctions between early and subsequent phases of the latter movement, and emphasizes the necessity of using the term Romanticism in the plural. The book is carefully documented, abounds in suggestive comparisons, and is written in lucid style.

Significant reference is made to the admiration of reason by early romanticists such as Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, an attitude frequently lost sight of in the tendency to judge all German Romanticism by the subsequent yielding to unbridled phantasmagoria which brought the entire movement into discredit as being far removed from the realities of life. Striking parallels between Kleist and Hölderlin, Friedrich Schlegel, and Novalis bear out the assertion of intellectual, spiritual and artistic kinship. A duality of rational and irrational qualities is found to distinguish the literary character of the early romanticists and of Kleist as well; earlier and later Romanticism are viewed as differing largely in the increasing predilection for the irrational, in a growing lack of formal discipline, and in the resultant predominance of the vague, fantastic, and emotional. In Tieck, the author sees the literary progenitor of later Romanticism and its weaknesses; the tendencies of this later period begin to manifest themselves in Kleist's writings in the wake of his contacts in Dresden. But, like the early romanticists, Kleist "insisted on form and discipline in art; like them, he considered himself not the opponent but the perfecter of Classicism, intent on conserving its achievements and yet going beyond it" (p. 99). Kleist is regarded as a belated and misplaced individual in the development of his age.

Professor Silz sees the innovation in Kleist's drama not in its form, but in a new and distinctly modern ethical and religious content (p. 169). To the reviewer, it seems that an additional important innovation in the drama of Heinrich von Kleist lies in his treatment of emotion. Through Kantian philosophy he had lost confidence in reason as a reliable guide to thought and action. And he subsequently concluded that, because of its tend-

ency to weigh and balance, reason merely made for indecision and thereby paralyzed initiative. Kleist came to regard feeling as the powerful, energizing, impelling factor in human conduct; consequently he treated emotion as the fundamental, differentiating, dynamic quality. The best, most reliable judgments he regarded as intuitive; feeling, rather than the reasoned logic of the situation, seemed the best guide. Kleist delighted in the portrayal of eruptive emotions of volcanic intensity which at times burst forth into acts of extreme violence, thereby pointing toward the irrational, incommensurable and incomprehensible elements of human nature. This predilection for emotion leading to deeds differentiates Kleist from the sentimental, vague, listless treatment of feeling by certain later romanticists. By such portrayal of surcharged emotions Kleist widened the boundaries of the drama of his time.

In a concluding chapter Friedrich Schlegel's ideal of poetic art is cited as one "that should unite the finite and the infinite, that should have the typical simplicity of the antique and yet express the complex soul of the modern individual with its infinite passions and longings" (p. 228). Professor Silz believes that this ideal was well-nigh realized in the best works of Kleist, and particularly in *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, in which he sees a reconciliation of qualities "commonly called *Classic* and *Romantic*," a reconciliation that he considers to have been the ideal of early German Romanticism.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Ohio Wesleyan University

Goethe, Sexus und Eros. VON FELIX A. THEILHABER. Berlin-Grunewald: Horen-Verlag [1929]. Pp. 361.

Das Verhältnis von Sexus zu Eros bei Goethe zu klären ist das Ziel dieser umfangreichen Studie. "Sexualität ist der physiologische Inhalt der grobanatomisch geschlechtlichen Handlung," definiert der Verfasser mit nicht unanfechtbarer Logik (die überhaupt seine schwache Seite ist); "Erotik ist eine seelische Komponente, ein gedanklicher Vorgang, eine intellektuelle Empfindung." Es gilt ihm nun zu erweisen, daß Goethe sexuell schwach, erotisch dagegen stark veranlagt gewesen, mit andern Worten, daß er seine Sexualität in seine Werke sublimiert habe (85-91). Haben wir das nicht eigentlich schon immer gewußt? Das Neue scheint bei Theilhaber nur das zu sein, daß er Goethe eine ausgesprochene Männlichkeit abspricht, ja daß er ihm fast diese Sublimierung übel nimmt. Er verlangt sozusagen, daß der Strom, dem man sein Wasser entzogen hat, um es auf poetische Mühlen zu schlagen, unten im

Tale in ungeminderter Fülle lustig weiter rausche, und es leuchtet ihm nicht ein, daß ein Mann, der bei Tage Hunderte von Bänden in aufreibend geistiger Tätigkeit füllt, mit denen er Jahrhunderte bewegt, nicht auch bei Nacht seinen Ruf als *pater patriae* nach Art Augusts des Starken begründen kann.

So führt Theilhaber denn die Eigenart des Goethischen Eros auf eine pathologische Veranlagung zurück, während die vielleicht viel lohnendere Frage nach etwaigen Hemmungs- und Fixierungserscheinungen durch frühe Erlebnisse nicht einmal aufgeworfen wird. Ich wäre der Letzte, der Theilhaders These von vornherein als unfruchtbar abweisen würde; aber unfruchtbar muß die Behandlung eines so umfassenden Themas bleiben, wenn der Bearbeiter kein Psychologe großen Ausmaßes ist, ja wenn ihm eine Einfühlung für menschliche und geistige Größe recht eigentlich abgeht. Seine Kronzeugen sind denn auch immer Leute von "prächtigem natürlichen Menschenverstand," wie er dem Dichter fehlt. So rühmt er Wilhelm Bodes Urteil über den *Werther*, der mit einer zwecklosen, sinnlosen, unerwünschten, verbotenen Liebe erfüllt sei. "Die natürlichen und vernünftigen Ziele der zärtlichen Gefühle zwischen Mann und Weib sind Begründung eines Hausstandes, christliche Kindererziehung und auch das Vergnügen des Ehebettes. Hier in diesem Roman fielen solche vernünftiger Zwecke unter den Tisch!" So Bode. Für Theilhaber ist dann der *Faust* die Behandlung des Sexualproblems des modernen Menschen, wobei einigermaßen unerfindlich bleibt, was der Verfasser unter dem 'Problem' versteht.

Völlig konfus sind irgendwelche Versuche, auf geistesgeschichtliche Entwicklungen einzugehen (112, 194), und Analysen der Dichtwerke bleiben in oberflächlicher und erborgter Charakterisierung stecken, wie der Verfasser auch für Einfühlung in historisch bedingte Ausdrucksform keinen Sinn hat: die Sprache des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, die ihm doch zum großen Teil sein Material bietet, wird einfach mit der unserer Zeit identifiziert.

Ein großer Aufwand von Arbeit ist hier vertan, um eine dünne These zu erweisen, vertan aus Mangel an genügender Einsicht und sachverständiger Methode. Selbst die Frage, ob Goethe in Zeiten befriedigter Liebe rein quantitativ weniger geschrieben habe, ist nicht aufgeworfen, geschweige beantwortet worden.

Theilhaders Zitate sind nicht immer zuverlässig, vergleiche z. B. das wichtige 'siegt mit Netzen' ist in 'siegt mit Reizen' (gesperrt!) verlesen (über Frau von Stein S. 120).

ERNST FEISE

Histoire de la Clarté française. Par DANIEL MORNET. Paris, Payot, 1929. Pp. 308. Fr. 30.

Peu de livres traitent un sujet aussi essentiel pour la connaissance de l'esprit français.

On a fait souvent (et Mornet mieux que quiconque) l'histoire de certains sentiments intellectuels comme ceux de *Raison*, de *Nature* dans la Littérature française. Mais on n'avait jamais fait l'histoire d'un trait, d'une qualité de l'esprit français. Et quand cette qualité est la Clarté qui passe pour maîtresse dans la Littérature française l'enquête est de première importance.

Qui dit *histoire* de la Clarté française dit formation, acquisition de cette qualité, dit qu'elle n'est pas surgie toute faite du Génie ethnique de la France, comme on le croit généralement. Le titre même que Mornet donne à son étude est un programme critique, est un refus d'accepter les vues conventionnelles sur le sujet. Et en effet tout son effort se porte vers la démonstration que voici : La Clarté française comme qualité littéraire n'est pas une vertu intellectuelle innée, une et indivisible, mais une discipline enseignée et apprise, une conquête graduelle, d'achèvement relativement récent, qui a été souvent disputée et menacée et qui l'est aujourd'hui encore par des tendances qui ne sont pas toutes condamnables. En effet il peut y avoir quelque artifice dans la Clarté à tout prix. Elle peut être acquise et maintenue aux dépens de la complétude, de la profondeur, de la vérité même aux yeux de ceux qui croient en la fluidité de l'Universel Devenir. Cela notre Professeur en Sorbonne met beaucoup de bonne grâce et une sorte de coquetterie de probité à le reconnaître. Pourtant il pense qu'à tout prendre la Clarté est une vertu essentielle de l'intelligence communicatrice et qu'il faut la maintenir.

Que cette vertu, que cette courtoisie de l'intelligence qui s'appelle du beau nom de Clarté soit bien française Mr. Mornet ne le conteste pas, car cela est évident, même en ces temps valéryques et proustiformes. Mais qu'elle ait été toujours et spontanément française c'est cela qui lui paraît le Mythe. Je voudrais marquer brièvement les principales étapes de sa démonstration sans prétendre résumer un livre qui fourmille de faits et d'aperçus :

Mornet commence par la Clarté (ou plutôt l'Obscurité) au moyen âge et par cette déclaration "La pensée au moyen âge ne s'est pas souciée d'être claire" (p. 13). Même si on tient compte de ce que notre auteur parle ici de la *pensée* on peut faire quelques réserves sur ce jugement rigoureux. En effet le courant didactique si puissant au moyen âge n'implique-t-il pas au moins une velléité de Clarté ? Peut-on dire que le souci de clarté soit absent chez Saint Thomas ? Et Mornet lui-même ne dira-t-il pas plus loin tout ce que les Rhétoriques et manuels de clarté des temps modernes doivent à la Scolastique médiévale ? Pourtant on sent bien que ce qu'il dit est tout de même vrai dans l'ensemble. Peut-être aurait-il dû nuancer davantage sa déclaration en se servant par exemple de la fameuse

distinction médiévale entre *Sens* et *Matière*. Le *Sens* est caché et on ne va à lui que par les symboles, mais la *Matière* est susceptible d'arrangement et de clarté.

Sous la Renaissance, comme M. le montre excellemment, la pensée ou mieux encore l'appétit intellectuel est chose quantitative. Peu ou pas de souci de sélection, de hiérarchie ordonnatrice, de proportions, de Clarté enfin. Suivant le mot vif et juste de Sénac de Meilhan que cite M., "l'esprit au XVIème siècle consistait dans l'érudition" (p. 20). Cela est vrai même de Rabelais, même de Montaigne, tous deux citateurs acharnés. Le tableau que M. trace de cette époque de la Renaissance comme paysage intellectuel est original et vrai. On y voit tout ce qu'il y a eu de fumeux dans tant de flamme.

Au XVIIème siècle, aux côtés mêmes des Classiques, on voit sévir le pédantisme citateur, la manie des *Ana*, de ces espèces de vide-poches intellectuels où on fourre sans but et sans ordre ce qu'on a lu. Quant au théâtre (qui est encore le meilleur baromètre des habitudes d'esprit d'une époque) les lecteurs du livre de Lancaster sauront tout ce qu'il a fallu de temps et de peine à la Clarté pour s'établir dans la littérature dramatique.

Et pourtant, et précisément au XVIIème siècle, la Clarté finit par l'emporter. Et cette victoire c'est au fond l'histoire même du Classicisme. La Clarté a fini par s'implanter, par devenir un trait qu'on associe avec l'esprit français. Comment cela s'est-il fait? Cela s'est fait, répond M., par l'effort et l'influence d'une discipline et d'une méthode contenues dans des traités qui s'appelaient des *Rhétoriques* et qui étaient enseignés, pratiqués, appliqués à coup d'exemples et d'exercices dans les collèges. En somme c'est un fait pédagogique. Ce furent des clercs et des régents qui apprirent aux futurs écrivains à penser en clarté, si on peut dire, et en cadence.

Ces *Rhétoriques*, ces méthodes pour s'exprimer clairement, ces grammaires de l'idéation avaient su distinguer les éléments essentiels de la Clarté: Le Choix, l'Ordre, l'Expression. Et par des exercices, des compositions elles apprenaient à l'enfant à bien tenir en mains ces trois conditions nécessaires de toute communication claire de la pensée. Ces méthodes représentaient à certains égards un apurement de la Scolastique. A cet apurement Descartes dans son *Discours de la Méthode* s'était livré de son côté mais de façon beaucoup moins solitaire et originale qu'on ne le répète trop souvent. "Descartes, dit excellemment M., pense comme ses contemporains, il ne leur apprend pas à penser comme lui" (p. 61). Avant Descartes il y avait déjà des méthodes de clarté. Mais après lui (et beaucoup à cause de lui) il y en a eu plus que jamais. L'historique et les citations que M. donne de ces *Rhétoriques* sont très vivants et très persuasifs. On voit combien ces disciplines et ces dressages ont eu d'action prolongée à travers des générations d'écoliers devenus hommes et parfois écrivains. On lira à ce sujet avec le plus grand fruit ce qu'il écrit sur la Composition oratoire (p. 156-205). En fait l'*habitus* oratoire (comme force et comme vice) est un trait important de la littérature et même de la poésie françaises. A cet égard le Romantisme si oratoire continuait bien plus qu'il ne le croyait une tradition classique et presque pédagogique.

Mais de même qu'il y avait eu dans l'établissement de cette discipline de Clarté des lenteurs et des attentes il y eut aussi des dissidences et des réactions. Et cette histoire négative n'est pas moins intéressante que l'autre. On peut dire que la recherche de la Clarté formelle soulève les protestations de deux camps qui sont pourtant adverses l'un à l'autre: Le Camp des Emotifs et celui des Scientifiques. Pour des motifs différents mais également puissants ces deux tempéraments se méfient de la Clarté

comme déformation et mutilation du Réel. A propos des esprits scientifiques une des parties les plus pénétrantes et à mon sens les plus neuves du livre de Mornet est celle qu'il consacre à Buffon, dont il montre le vigoureux effort pour adapter les formes consacrées à un contenu intellectuel plus complexe (p. 101-110). Quant aux réactions et dissidences émotives contre la Clarté elles sont évidentes bien avant le Symbolisme. C'est un curieux spectacle que de voir les Prérromantiques nous parler du *Vague des Passions* (qui est la négation même de la Clarté comme fait de conscience). Mais c'est un spectacle plus curieux encore de les voir nous parler de ces ténèbres en termes de clarté et de logique oratoires.

Mornet nous a lui-même bien averti que son but dans son livre n'était pas de chercher "les causes profondes" de la Clarté française mais seulement ses causes littéraires. Cependant tout en cultivant son jardin d'historien de la Littérature il ouvre devant l'esprit du lecteur tout un horizon. Entre autres problèmes celui de savoir si cette acquiescence aux doctrines et aux disciplines de Clarté par l'esprit français ne trahit pas une certaine réceptivité ou prédisposition plus ou moins native, ce problème-là me semble se poser malgré tout. Ceci n'infirmerait pas les conclusions bien étayées de M., mais leur apporterait seulement un léger correctif. Il y aurait lieu également de se demander si l'influence de l'Eglise (et surtout des prédicateurs catholiques après la Réforme) et celle des femmes (qui n'étaient pas toutes précieuses ni quintessenciées) n'ont pas compté pour quelque chose dans l'établissement de la Clarté? Il est si difficile de faire abstraction du phénomène social dans le phénomène intellectuel ou littéraire!

Mais qu'on dise ce que l'on voudra, l'ouvrage en question est de ceux qu'aucun étudiant sérieux de l'esprit français ne pourra se permettre d'ignorer.

LOUIS CONS

Swarthmore College

Le Théâtre d'Octave Feuillet (1821-1890). Par ALICE BORRESEN.
Paris: Editions Spes, 1929. Pp. 283. Fr. 22.

The theme of this dissertation is the significance of Feuillet as a representative of his time. Making almost no attempt at literary criticism, Miss Borresen has emphasized the historical value of Feuillet's ideas, which found earlier expression, and whose evolution can be traced more clearly, in his plays than in his novels. As she states in her preface, her aims are to *faire revivre l'esprit et la société du Second Empire, faire mieux connaître son romancier mondain, étudier les divers courants de l'époque*. She has carried out this ambitious program by giving briefly the life of F. and the *historique* of his theatre, by telling at wearisome length the dull plots of the plays most successfully produced or most significant for the ideals they embody, by showing the relationship of F.'s

ideas with romanticism, realism, positivism, by a final chapter on the *Théâtres de société* and the *Comédie de salon* of the Second Empire. The last two parts are by far the clearest and most interesting. In her desire to present the hitherto unpublished material which forms the greatest part of her bibliography, Miss B. somewhat overloads her pages with quotations that might have been more thoroughly integrated into the text. She is too sparing of personal comment. Having shown that she can write vividly and sensitively, for instance in her admirable analysis of romanticism and the bourgeois reaction to it, she leaves the reader a bit resentful of the heavy going in such a chapter as the one on *Le Réalisme d'Octave Feuillet*, where he finds himself obliged repeatedly to consult the *Table des matières* in order to supply the plan and conclusions which could well be more explicit in the chapter itself.

The dissertation, for which its author received the highest mention of the University of Paris, gives the impression of thorough, painstaking, and sincere scholarship. Miss B. has had a real problem in the organization of the great mass of material which she has gathered. She handles the problem by presenting a detailed *Table des matières* in the form of an outline. It is regrettable that no page numbers are given either in the *Table* or in cross-references in the footnotes, where the use of merely *infra* and *supra* show sublime confidence in the reader's ability to turn without loss of time and patience to a desired paragraph.

EDITH MELCHER

Wellesley College

Stage Realism in France between Diderot and Antoine. By EDITH MELCHER. Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1928. Pp. vi, 189.

Dramatic critics and literary historians have always insisted upon the revolutionary character of the Théâtre Libre and praised its founder, Antoine, for introducing realism on the French stage. Miss Melcher has asked a very interesting question: was Antoine's stage realism an abrupt creation *ex nihilo*? Had there been anything, before 1887, to prepare his courageous attempt and to explain his success?

Miss M. has made a thorough study of the setting, the properties, the costumes and the stage-directions of the French theatre between Diderot and Antoine. In a preliminary chapter, she shows how the gradual discarding of classical tradition, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, opened the way to a new realism. Much attention is paid to Diderot's theories, which advocated a naturalism as complete as that of a hundred years later, but were long neglected by the following century. The greater part of her book is devoted to the nineteenth century: the author has adopted a

classification which is not without drawbacks, although it probably remains more satisfactory than a chronological division into periods might have been. She follows with great care the development of stage realism in the melodrama, in the romantic drama (which she makes to include, somewhat arbitrarily, such plays as Ponsard's *Lucrèce* and Sardou's *Théodora*), and in the realistic drama. The conclusion is clear: the powerful movement which swept the whole century towards realism was felt on the French stage long before Antoine; in fact, realism was applied in the theatre, long before Champfleury and Duranty advocated it for literature at large. Antoine's task will be "to unite the scattered reforms of a century and to present them to a public which had been gradually prepared to receive them" (p. 157).

Miss M. has accomplished her task with great skill and a very thorough method. There is much that is new in what she tells about the realistic setting of many nineteenth century plays, and the student of French drama in that period cannot afford to do without her book. The wealth of details and of quotations has not caused her to lose sight of the main lines of her subject. The facts are presented with a fine clarity and the style has an elegant purity, which we do not always find in American dissertations. Such a modest, but definite, contribution to our knowledge of French literature is a good instance of what can be done in a thesis, and may help to justify the Ph. D. against the charges recently brought by Mr. Norman Foerster and other American critics.¹

HENRI PEYRE

Yale University

Parnassus in France, Currents and cross-currents in nineteenth-century French lyric poetry. By AARON SCHAFER. University of Texas Press, 1929. Pp. x + 291.

In spite of many recent works on the Parnassian movement, Mr. Schaffer feels that "the fact remains, that the Parnassians, as a whole, have not received the attention they deserve among American scholars." Since the present work is frankly introductory in character, it makes no claim to exhaustiveness and merely

¹ The author might have added a few titles to her precise and very useful bibliography: L. Allard's *La comédie de mœurs en France au xix^e siècle* (Harvard, 1923); Hasting's, *The Drama of H. de Balzac* (Baltimore, 1917), E. C. van Bellen's *Les origines du mélodrame* (Utrecht, 1927), among others would have provided a few details about stage realism in Picard, Balzac and in the melodrama. And the dramatic criticism of other nineteenth century periodicals (such as the *Revue de Paris*, the *Revue Nationale*, the *Revue Encyclopédique*, etc.) would have enabled her to study the reaction to that realism with greater accuracy.

attempts to sketch the principal currents of nineteenth-century French lyric poetry, which, "for a decade, fused to form a stream that has come to be known as Parnassianism." After a short chapter on lyric poetry to the Romantic Period, he studies the Romantic Period, Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, Banville, Baudelaire, etc., ending with a ninth chapter on Symbolists and Decadents. The appendix contains a short but satisfactory bibliography.

"We have completed," remarks Mr. Schaffer in his afterword, our ascent of the French Parnassus. Our voyage, to be sure, has been somewhat hurried." Indeed less than 300 pages seem scant space for the discussion of so broad a field, of so many poets, especially when there is frequent citation from the original text of poems mentioned. Mr. Schaffer writes for the general public rather than the special student; he aims to interest his reader in French poetry as Fontenelle did the ladies in astronomy. A sincere lover of this poetry himself, he wishes to attempt to rescue "these poets (the Parnassians) from the oblivion which has engulfed most of them in English-speaking countries." One wonders whether we can hope for much success along these lines. In both England and America the Muse of French poetry has always suffered from lack of appreciation. C. J. Bailey in *Claims of French Poetry* and M. Legouis in his *Défense de la poésie française* have both attempted a similar task along more traditional lines.

Mr. S.'s enthusiasm sometimes allows his prose to become more poetic than logical; such phrases as "the harmonies are Debussian rather than Chopinesque," "primordial unashamedness," "technical wizardry," "ethereal marble of lyric poetry" suggest an emotional rather than intellectual appreciation. At the end he grows pessimistic and wonders whether "poetry is capable of growth in so inhospitable a soil as this twentieth-century civilization" with its "iconoclastic intellectual phenomena," such as "*The Origin of Species*, *Madame Bovary* and the 'useful theatre' of Dumas fils and Augier." Critical works on modern French poetry with their vague and indefinite phraseology and their intensely subjective judgments cause one to regret the language and the logic of Malherbes, for the marginal notes to his copy of Des Portes, by their directness and common sense, make us realize that this 'tyran des mots et des syllabes,' with his frankly unsympathetic attitude toward lyric poetry, while he may have stifled lyric poetry in France for a century and a half, rendered his country a great service by preventing a host of unskilful riders from attempting to mount Pegasus. Nevertheless, the worthy motive of such works of initiation as the present disarms the critic, just as Miss Amy Lowell's enthusiasm in her *Six French Poets* somewhat compensated for a lack of critical acumen and historical background. To one unfamiliar with Parnassian poetry, *Parnassus in France* will provide an interesting and satisfactory introduction.

A Century of Voltaire Study. A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire, 1825-1925. By MARY-MARGARET H. BARR. New York: The Institute of French Studies, 1929. Pp. xxiv + 123.

In the case of a writer so voluminous, picturesque, and significant as Voltaire, it is natural that the number of books and articles dealing with his personality or his works should have become very large during that active century from 1825 to 1925, and Miss Barr has listed, and in most cases examined personally, 1,494 titles. This simple fact indicates at once the great aid offered to students of Voltaire by this little volume, which begins where Quérard left off and stops, since one must stop somewhere, a century later. The titles are classified, for greater convenience, under the seven main heads of Bibliography, General Criticism, Biography, Voltaire The Writer and Thinker, Correspondence, Criticism of Individual Works, and Voltairiana. Each title is numbered and there is a valuable Index at the end of the volume.

J. J. Jusserand's important *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1898) should be listed on p. 49, since later writers have drawn extensively on it, not always with due acknowledgments. Joseph Texte's *J.-J. Rousseau et le cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris, 1895), which bears on the same subject, may be found under number 955 on a later page. Although M. Morize's valuable critical edition of *Le Mondain* appears on p. 91, the still more indispensable edition of *Candide* (Hachette, Paris, 1913) has somehow been missed and should be added on p. 84. With these and such other occasional omissions as a very close scrutiny might reveal, Miss Barr's careful labor has produced a work of great value. In bibliography it is well-nigh impossible to be absolutely complete and the reader should always be grateful for the very high degree of completeness here attained. The difficult task of proof-reading has also been performed almost without slip. This *Bibliography* must be regarded as one of the fundamental works of reference for all students of eighteenth-century French literature.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

Ohio State University

Santa Teresa y otros ensayos. Por AMÉRICO CASTRO. "Historia Nueva," 1929. 279 pp.

Los libros de ensayos me dejan siempre la impresión de que hoy se escribe con miedo, con un miedo inexplicable a atacar de frente los problemas difíciles, a meterse en honduras. Los ensayistas españoles de más valer suelen contentarse con temas marginales y

tratan, por temor a hacer el ridículo, de ajustar su prosa al ritmo del momento con una candidez admirable. Huyen de las complejidades y se asustan de todo, hasta de citar pasajes ligeramente escabrosos. "El gracejo con que se ensartan en este libro los vocablos y conceptos picantes—dice Maeztu hablando de *Le Celestina*—es punto menos que una catástrofe nacional, en cuanto impide manejar sin reservas uno de nuestros grandes clásicos."¹ Indudablemente hoy se escribe pensando demasiado en los liceos de señoras.

Castro es una de las raras excepciones. En su último libro aborda valientemente las cuestiones fundamentales que otros esquivan. Sus breves ensayos sobre la Edad Media, sobre los mozárabes, sobre la influencia de Erasmo, sobre el problema histórico de *La Celestina*, sobre Gracián, son el mayor esfuerzo que hasta ahora se ha hecho para destruir las cómodas fórmulas de la erudición burguesa. Cuando se escriba un manual serio de nuestra literatura será imprescindible tener a la vista estos ensayos.

El capítulo de la Edad Media, por ejemplo está pidiendo una revisión. Suele hablarse con evidente ligereza de la modorra intelectual de los siglos medievales. El error procede de habernos limitado siempre a estudiar las obras literarias sin tener en cuenta las didácticas, que en esta época son su clave. Todas las grandes figuras de la Edad Media, dice agudamente el ensayista, están tocadas de espíritu escolástico. Su concepto del mundo explica su sentido del arte. Por eso es improcedente separar el arte de las demás manifestaciones de cultura.

Otro capítulo de nuestra historia literaria que también necesita mejora es el correspondiente al erasmismo. Se habla de Erasmo como heterodoxo, se recuerdan sus relaciones con los hermanos Valdés, se apunta vagamente su influencia sobre el autor del *Lazarillo*, todo esto siguiendo a Menéndez y Pelayo, pero no se dice nada de lo mucho que le deben (dejando aparte cuestiones religiosas) los escritores clásicos incluso Cervantes. Es un estudio que está todavía por hacer, y al que podría servir como punto de partida el sugestivo ensayo que Castro ha dedicado al gran humanista de Rotterdam.

Tan capitales como los anteriores son todos los demás problemas discutidos en el nuevo libro de don Américo, una de cuyas ideas fijas parece ser combatir a los que niegan un Renacimiento español. "No se manifiesta en la Península—dice en el ensayo sobre Santa Teresa—nada que podamos entroncar con la tradición del Cusano o de Leonardo; la mística viene en cambio a responder de extraña manera al afán individualista grato al Renacimiento." Desde hace ya tiempo viene el insigne crítico afirmando la participación de España en el movimiento renacentista. Esta era una de las conclusiones, quizá la principal, de su libro sobre Cervantes,² y

¹ *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina*, Madrid, 1926, p. 220.

² *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1925.

ahora, al hablar del erasmismo, de *La Celestina*, de la mística, aduce nuevas demostraciones.

El estudio más largo está dedicado a Santa Teresa cuya figura, hasta ahora exclusivamente sometida al análisis clínico o sublimada por el fervor religioso, aparece aquí juzgada desde un tercer punto de vista más sereno. Ni empíreo ni fisiología. Castro, situado en la clara zona del arte, da una interpretación puramente literaria. "Santa Teresa rechaza la abstracción, prefiere el amor divino inspirado en la humanidad de Cristo, fundado en elementos sensibles y expresados en símbolos y metáforas que alimenten la fantasía. No hay aquí 'noche oscura del alma,' como en Juan de la Cruz; en Teresa la unión mística se produce, necesariamente, en un previo estado de ausencia de sí mismo, en un total vacío de la mente, pero en un vacío cegador por su luz, no por su tiniebla; y rara vez sin el concurso de su sensibilidad." Nunca se ha dicho de la Santa de Avila nada tan justo en menos palabras.

En su último libro Castro hace frecuentes incursiones por el campo de la historia—*Herejías provenzales*, *El gran duque de Osuna*, etc.—demostrando igual destreza y erudición que en el terreno literario. No quiero concluir sin citar su ensayo sobre *Cervantes y Pirandello* que es, si no el más transcendental, el que ciertamente acusa mayor perspicacia crítica.

JOSÉ ROBLES

BRIEF MENTION

The Mabinogion. A New Translation. By T. P. ELLIS and JOHN LLOYD. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1929. Vol. I, pp. xx + 223; vol. II, pp. 253. \$3.50. The translators used both the Red Book and the White Book text in making their English version of the Middle-Welsh romances. They include not only the *Mabinogion* proper, but also *Macsen Wledig*, *Lludd and Llevelys*, *Kulhwch and Olwen*, *Rhonabwy*, *Owein*, *Peredur and Gereint*. Their work has been done with fair accuracy, but students of medieval romances will not find the volumes very useful, since the notes are rather meager. In their Preface (p. vii) the translators indicate that they interpret as a plural the *mabinogi* of the sentence *hon yw y bedwarded geinc or mabinogi*. With equal reason (or unreason) one might argue that in the sentence "this is the fourth branch of the tree," the word *tree* is in the plural.

K. M.

Fourth Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400. Additions and Modifications to July, 1929. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS. New Haven, Conn., 1929. Pp. 1253-1332. \$1.50. Professor Wells once more brings his *Manual* up to date by adding the learned studies printed since the third supplement came out in 1926. The latest supplement conforms closely, in its arrangement of the subject-matter, to the original work and the supplements earlier brought out. I have noted only one mistake: on p. 1285, the page reference in item 617 is wrong. It is best corrected by reading "paragraph" for "page."

K. M.

Nicholas Breton as a Pamphleteer. By NELLIE ELIZABETH MONROE. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1929. Pp. 98. In this doctoral thesis, Miss Monroe classifies the prose writings of Breton into ten types: the dialogue, allegory, devotional tract, satire, gnomic pieces, ventures into courtly and realistic fiction, the familiar letter written with a conscious literary purpose, the political tract, the "character," and the essay. She then considers Breton's contribution to each of these types in the light of its own literary tradition and the cultural conditions which gave rise to it and supported it. Miss Monroe shows a thorough command of her subject-matter and she writes with considerable stylistic distinction.

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD

Thomas Fuller. Selections. With Essays by Charles Lamb, Leslie Stephen, Etc. With an Introduction by E. K. BROADUS. Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 206. With its portrait and facsimile reproductions of the title pages, and its care to reproduce the typography and arrangement of the original volumes, this collection is an excellent effort to 'cream' Fuller for undergraduates. The extracts are representative of his whole work on a scale which assigns forty-five pages to *The Holy* and *The Profane State*, and two pages to *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*.

University of California

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

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